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ABSTRACT

National surveys of the post-high school plans and aspirations of black and white high school seniors have been conducted for the past decade. Chances of college entry among blacks from 1977 through the mid-1980s have declined in contrast to the increasing college entry chances of whites. This paper analyses the plans of black and white seniors and shows that they have followed a similar path. There is little evidence that a change in values or motivation among black seniors accounts for the decline in their chances of college entry. Plans and aspirations to complete a four-year college have increased among both blacks and whites. Aspirations to enter the armed forces have also increased in the two groups. No particular trend has been found in their plans to attend vocational, technical and two-year colleges. The findings indicate the need for future research to account for the decline in chances of college entry for blacks. Specific factors to be examined are the following: (1) lagging trends in college graduation among blacks and whites; (2) patterns of entry into the military service; (3) changes in the labor market for recent high school graduates; and (4) the availability of direct grants to support college attendance. Statistical data are presented in tables and figures. (VM)

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Robert M. Hauser

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POST-HIGH SCHOOL PLANS OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES: WHAT HAS CHANGED SINCE THE MID-1970S? [1]

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Post-High School Plans of Black High School Graduates: What Has Changed Since the Mid-1970s?

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July 23, 1987

ABSTRACT

For the past decade, the post-high school plans and aspirations of black and white high school seniors have been recorded annually in a large, national sample survey, ***Monitoring the Future***, carried out by the Survey Research Center of The University of Michigan. These series are of great interest because the chances of college entry among have declined among blacks from 1977 through the mid-1980s, both absolutely and relative to the increasing college entry chances of whites.

The main finding of the present analysis is that plans of black and white seniors have followed similar paths in time. There have been essentially no trends among blacks or whites in plans to attend technical or vocational school or in plans or aspirations to complete a two-year college program. Plans and aspirations to enter the armed forces have increased among blacks and whites, and the increase in plans has been slightly larger among blacks than among whites. Plans and aspirations to complete a four-year college program have grown among blacks and whites, and the increase in plans has been slightly smaller among blacks than among whites.

These findings provide little evidence of a change in values or motivation among black seniors that would be sufficient to account for a decline in their chances of college entry. It will be important to check findings of declining college entry by examining lagged trends in college graduation among blacks and whites. In seeking to locate the sources of trends in black college entry, the findings suggest that we ought to look more closely at patterns of entry into military service, at changes in the labor market for recent high school graduates, and at the availability of direct grants to support college attendance.

From the middle 1970s to the early 1980s, college entry of blacks has declined, even as it has grown rapidly in the white population.[2] Despite flaws in the evidence, the decline is well documented, and attention has turned to a search for explanations of the decline and for ways to reverse it. This report is one piece of a larger effort to document and explain the changes in black college entry. It briefly describes the turnaround in black college entry, and it describes several time series of post-high school plans and aspirations that cover the period of the turnaround. There is very weak evidence that aggregate changes in black students' plans and aspirations correspond to observed changes in their chances of college entry. The main finding is that plans of black and white seniors have followed similar paths in time that have included stable or declining interest in technical or vocational schooling and two-year college programs and growing interest in military service and in four-year college programs.

Changes in College Entry

In my recent examination of trends in college entry (Hauser 1987), there were four major findings:

> *First, college entry rates have declined among black high school graduates. Even though there have been some signs of recovery in the mid-1980s, blacks have fallen further behind whites than they were in the late 1960s. The chances of black high school graduates to attend college rose from about 39 percent in 1973 to about 48 percent in 1977 - when they were virtually equal to those of whites - and then fell continuously to about 38 percent through 1983.*

Second, the picture looks worse when one compares the college entry chances of black high school graduates with those of white high school graduates; over the period from 1973 to 1984, the college entry chances of whites rose almost continuously from about 48 percent to 57 percent. College entry rates rose most rapidly among whites after 1979, when blacks had experienced a severe drop in their chances of entering college. By 1984, the odds that a black high school graduate would enter the first year of college within a year were less than half the corresponding odds for a white high school graduate.

Third, the lower incomes of black families explain part of the black-white gap in college entry, and during the 1970s black high school graduates were ***more*** *likely to enter college than white graduates with the same family income. However, since 1980, the college entry chances of blacks have fallen so far that family income can no longer account for the black-white difference.*

Fourth, these trends affected black men and black women, and they affected most income groups in the black population. That is, the rise and decline of blacks' chances for college entry, absolutely and relative to those of whites, have essentially nothing to do with changes in family income or with changes in the college-going chances of men and women. Only the very highest income families in the black population

experienced any improvement in college-going chances after 1980, and even this group lost ground relative to whites.

Figure 1 and figure 2 show the central findings of my previous report. They are based on tabulations of individual-level data for recent high school graduates from October Current Population Surveys for 1968 to 1985. The October CPS data cover the civilian noninstitutional population, so high school graduates who entered military service are not in the base population.

Figure 1 shows trends in the logit of college entry among black and white high school graduates. (The logit is the natural logarithm of the ratio of the percentage entering college to the percentage not entering college.) The trend lines have been adjusted for effects of family income, sex, region, and metropolitan location on college entry; however, the trends are essentially the same for blacks and whites, whether or not family income and the other variables have been controlled. As shown, the trend lines pertain to male graduates with family incomes of less than $10,000 from Central Cities in the South.[3] Because of the small number of black graduates in the Current Population Survey, the trends shown are 3-year moving averages over the period from 1968 to 1985.

Among blacks and whites, the odds of college entry declined from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. After 1973 college entry chances rose, especially among blacks, for whom they peaked in 1977. Among whites college entry leveled off between 1975 and 1979, but it has risen continuously since then. Among blacks, a precipitous decline in college entry began in 1978. It appears to have levelled off after 1981 with black college chances lower than they were in the late 1960s.

One might think that the peak of college entry in the 1970s was abnormally high, given the other social and economic conditions of black Americans. Perhaps it was a temporary product of an unusual level of public support and enthusiasm, which may even have drawn an unusual number of college entrants who were unlikely to earn a degree.[4] At the same time, it is difficult to imagine that the "normal" level of continuation from high school to college among blacks in the 1980s should be lower than that in the 1960s.

Of course, the selectivity of high school graduation itself deserves to be considered as a possible source of decline in college entry. There is evidence that rates of high school completion have continued to increase among blacks during the 1970s and 1980s. As the selectivity of high school graduation declines, one might expect continuation to college to decline. Yet, selectivity seems an unlikely source of declining college entry; there is no historic evidence for cohorts, black or white, that would suggest a negative correlation between rates of high school completion and rates of continuation to college (Hauser 1986:Figures 20-22). On the contrary, intercohort growth in college graduation has been driven by a combination of increased rates of high school completion and stable or slightly increasing rates of continuation to college.

In figure 2, the lower trend line shows a 3-year moving average of the natural log of the ratio of the odds of college entry among blacks to the odds of college entry among whites. This measure has a natural point of equality, shown near the top of the graph, where the log of the odds-ratio is zero. At this point, the odds of college entry among blacks, as given by the ratio of entrants to non-entrants, are equal to the odds of college entry among whites.[5] There has been a long swing from the late 1960s to the middle 1980s

during which the college-going chances of black high school graduates first moved toward those of whites and then diverged, perhaps to a point more distant than in the late 1960s: In 1984, the odds that a black high school graduate would enter the first year of college within a year were less than half the corresponding odds for a white high school graduate.[6]

The upper trend line in figure 1, denoted "adjusted" in the legend, is a comparable measure of difference in the chances of college entry, but it is based upon a statistical model in which the effects of sex, region, metropolitan status, and family income have been controlled.[7] That is, the upper trend line controls for differences between blacks and whites and changes in the sex composition, geographic location, and economic standing of blacks and whites.[8] Two features of the diagram stand out. First, the two lines are virtually parallel throughout the period from 1969 to 1984.[9] Thus, the observed trend in black-white differences in college entry is in no way a consequence of changes in sex composition, geographic location, or economic standing. Second, the adjusted trend line always lies above the observed line. That is, once we take account of the differing social composition of the black and white populations (on the variables included in the model), the differences in chances of college entry are more nearly centered around the zero point of equal chances, which is shown about two thirds of the way up the diagram. In the observed data, the chances for college entry of blacks barely reach the point of equality in the period around 1977; in the adjusted series, the chances for college entry among blacks were as good or better than those among whites almost continuously from 1971 to 1981. By 1982, the decline of the Carter and Reagan eras again brought the chances of blacks below those of comparable whites.

Figures 1 and 2 outline a genuine scientific puzzle that is also of great public interest. What global social changes have affected the college-going behavior of black high school graduates without equally affecting those of whites? Several explanations have been offered for the downturn in black college attendance, including changes in the economic status of blacks families, changes in the propensity of boys and girls to attend college, changes in propensities to enter military service, changes in the level and pattern of financial aid for college attendance, and changes in the attractiveness of vocational or technical education and labor market entry.

The data in figures 1 and 2 show that changes in economic status do not account for the trend in college entry among blacks, nor for the trend in black-white differences in college entry. Hauser (1987) shows that similar trends hold separately for men and for women, so changes in the tendency of black or white men or women to enter college do not account for the downturn in college entry among blacks. Moreover, the fact that similar trends have occurred among men and women suggests that changes in entry into the armed forces are unlikely to account for the downturn in black college entry.

Post-High School Plans and Aspirations

Have there been changes in black high school graduates' plans or aspirations that might help to explain the change in black college entry? There are good reasons to think that periodic measurements of youths' plans and aspirations will provide useful and valid clues about their social and economic futures. For many years, I have worked with William H. Sewell and others to develop and test a social psychological model of the formation and effects of late adolescent aspirations and expectations (Sewell 1971; Hauser and Sewell 1972; Hauser 1972; Hauser and Sewell 1975; Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf

1980; Hauser, Tsai, and Sewell 1983). Briefly, this model postulates that socioeconomic background and ability affect aspirations for schooling and careers by way of their realization in school performance and in social support from significant others. Consequently, much of the influence of these prior variables on post-high school education, occupational success, and earnings is mediated by plans and aspirations, which account for much of the variation in post-school success. For example, when variables are corrected for errors of measurement, the social psychological model accounts for 68.6 percent of the variance in post-high school educational attainment and 63.3 percent of the variance in early occupational status in a large cohort of Wisconsin high school graduates (Hauser, Tsai, and Sewell 1983:31).[10]

If data on adolescent aspirations or plans have not been much used in studies of trends in schooling, it is primarily because we have lacked comparable periodic measurements of them. Hauser (1970:113-16) drew attention to the lack of comparability in research design and question wording that plagued efforts to measure changes in educational aspirations during the 1950s and 1960s; although they have added much to our knowledge in other areas, the initiation of several large-scale, national longitudinal studies since the late 1960s has done little to remedy this problem.[11]

Monitoring the Future

Fortunately, we do have one major survey resource, the series of ***Monitoring the Future*** (MTF) surveys (Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley 1980), which has measured the post-high school plans and aspirations of high school seniors using exactly the same questions each year from 1976 through 1985.[12] These surveys ask about plans and desires to attend several types of schools and to enter military service; unfortunately, they do not ask any questions

about immediate post-high school job entry. The MTF surveys, conducted by the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, are based upon a nationally representative sample of some 16,000 to 20,000 high school seniors in approximately 125 public and private high schools in the coterminous United States. Because the clustering of observations within schools is not entirely offset by areal stratification of the sample, it is less efficient statistically in the measurement of some variables and in some population subgroups than would be a simple random sample of the same size.[13] However, schools are selected to participate in two successive years, and the 50 percent overlap in the sample of schools from year to year provides greater reliability in the measurement of trend than would occur in independent, repeated cross sections of the same size.

In this report, I have looked at two series of questions from the MTF that ask about post-high school ***expectations*** (plans after high school graduation) and post-high school ***aspirations*** (desired post-high school activities). The published percentage distributions of responses to these items are given for blacks and whites by year in table 1 and table 2. Question C21 contains a set of queries about post-high school plans, "How likely is it that you will do each of the following things after high school?" with reference to the following choices: attend a technical or vocational school, serve in the armed forces, graduate from a two-year college program, graduate from a 4-year college program, and attend graduate or professional school after college.[14] In each case, the response alternatives are "definitely won't," "probably won't," "probably will," and "definitely will." In the present analysis, I have looked at the trend in the contrast between "definitely will" and all other categories for each type of activity among

blacks and whites, and I have compared the trend in this contrast between blacks and whites. Similarly, I have looked at trend in the contrast between the combination of the two positive choices ("definitely will" or "probably will") and the combination of the two negative choices ("probably won't" and "definitely won't"), and I have compared the trend in this contrast between blacks and whites.

Question C22 asks, "Suppose you could do just what you'd like, and nothing stood in your way. How many of the following things would you WANT to do? (Mark ALL that apply)," and this is followed by the same list of activities as were used in the question about plans.[15] I have looked at trend in the choice of each activity for blacks and whites, and I have compared the trend in choices between blacks and whites.

Black Students' Plans: An Overview

Figure 3 shows the distributions of black seniors' plans to attend technical or vocational school from 1976 to 1985. Through out the decade, the percentage of black seniors with definite plans to attend a technical or vocational school fluctuated between 10 and 13 percent, while the percentage with definite or probable intentions fluctuated between 35 and 40 percent. There is little indication of trend in this series, and certainly no suggestion that black seniors' plans for post-high school technical or vocational training have increased. If there is a trend at all, it is one of decline in plans to attend technical or vocational school.[16]

Figure 4 shows the distributions of black seniors' plans to enter the armed services from 1976 to 1985. There is clear evidence of increasing interest in military service throughout the decade. Plans to enter military service were least popular in 1977, when 8.2 percent of black seniors had

definite plans to enter and 16.0 percent more said they would probably enter. Even here, of course, the interest in military service is widespread, for these data pertain to all black seniors, male and female. Plans to enter military service were at their peak in 1985, when 16.3 percent of black seniors had definite plans to enter the military, and 22.3 percent more said they were probable entrants.[17] Although these trends lend support to the argument that increased entry into military service may explain the decline in black college entry, the story will not hold up unless the trends among blacks differ from those among whites.

Figure 5 shows the distributions of black seniors' plans to complete a two-year college program from 1976 to 1985. The percentage of black seniors with definite plans to complete a two-year college program varied between 9 and 14 percent during the decade, but there was no linear trend, nor any other significant variation across time in the percentage with definite plans. The percentage of black seniors with either definite or probable plans to complete a two-year college program wandered from a low of 34.7 percent in 1976 to a peak of 44.1 percent in 1983, and it subsequently declined to 41.5 percent in 1985. These shifts were by no means monotonic, and one should be cautious in concluding that there was a real shift in plans to complete a two-year college program. Over the decade as a whole, there was a small, but significant linear increase, amounting to about 0.6 percentage points per year, in the share of black seniors with plans to complete a two-year college program. But this trend was due solely to the contrast between 1976, when the share with plans was unusually low, and all other years. That is, had the series begun in 1977, we would not conclude that there had been any temporal variation in plans to complete a two-year college program.[18]

Figure 6 shows the distributions of black high school seniors' plans to graduate from four-year colleges during the years from 1976 to 1985. The statement of such plans is remarkably high, consistent with a good deal of other evidence that black youths report high levels of aspiration. From 32 percent to 40 percent of black seniors say they definitely plan to graduate from a four-year college, and another 20 to 25 percent say they will probably graduate from a four-year college. The percentages reporting the several plans appear to vary more from year to year in the case of college attendance than in the other items, but the overall tendency has been toward growth in plans for completion of a four-year college program, amounting to about .5 percent per year with definite or probable plans. That is, senior year plans to complete a four-year college program have increased slightly, even as black college entry has declined.[19]

Comparisons of Black and White Plans

If senior year plans are to help explain the divergence between the college entry chances of blacks and whites, then there must also be different trends in the plans of black and white seniors. Thus, it is necessary to compare trends in the post-high school plans of black and white seniors and to look for differences in those trends.

Figure 7 shows trend lines for black and white seniors in reports of definite plans to attend technical or vocational school and of the combination of definite and probable plans. As we have already seen, there are essentially no trends in plans for technical or vocational schooling among black seniors. Whites are significantly less likely than blacks to plan on technical or vocational schooling. Ten to 13 percent of black seniors have definite plans to attend technical or vocational school, compared with 8 to 9

percent of white seniors. About 35 to 40 percent of black seniors have definite or probable plans to attend technical or vocational school, compared with about 25 percent of white seniors. There does not appear any trend in white seniors' plans for technical or vocational schooling, nor is there any difference between blacks and whites in the temporal pattern of those plans.[20]

Figure 8 shows plans of black and white seniors to enter the armed forces. There is a large differential between whites and blacks in plans to enter the military, and it has persisted over the decade. For example, in 1976 12.5 percent of blacks and 3.7 percent of whites reported definite plans to enter the armed forces, and in 1985 16.3 percent of blacks and 5.3 percent of whites reported definite plans to enter the armed forces. In 1976 29.3 percent of blacks and 12.2 percent of whites reported probable or definite plans to enter the armed forces, and in 1985 38.6 percent of blacks and 12.3 percent of whites reported probable or definite plans to enter the armed forces. One might think from figure 8 that there has been far greater growth in plans to enter the military among blacks than among whites, but this is not quite the case. In relative terms, the trends in plans to enter military service are similar among blacks and whites because there are similar upward trends in the odds of planning to enter the military in both populations. However, the percentage point increase in plans to enter the military is larger among blacks than among whites because the percentages planning to enter the military are higher to begin with among blacks than among whites.[21]

Despite the negative evidence from Hauser (1987), changes in plans to enter military service do appear as potential sources of the decline in black college attendance. In relative terms, interest in military service has grown among blacks and whites. The consequences of this growth are larger in the

black population because a larger share of blacks is interested in serving in the military, and equal relative changes have larger absolute effects on a proportion near .5 than on a proportion near .1 or .9. There has also been a larger relative growth in probable plans to enter the military among blacks than among whites, but this is not so important in explaining the difference between changes in black and white plans as is the initial difference between blacks and whites in the prevalence of military plans.

Figure 9 shows plans of black and white seniors to complete a two-year college program. There is virtually no difference between blacks and whites in the level or trend of definite plans to complete a two-year college program. In both populations 10 to 12 percent of seniors plan to complete a two-year college program, and there has been a small, but significant increase in the percentage with such plans during the period from 1976 to 1985; there may have been a slight decline in two-year college plans since 1982. There is no significant difference in the trend between blacks and whites. Significantly more blacks than whites report probable or definite plans to complete a two-year college program. Between 35 and 44 percent of black seniors report definite or probable plans to complete a two-year college program, compared with 28 to 34 percent of whites who report such plans. As in the case of definite plans, there has been a small upward trend in definite or probable plans to complete a two-year college program, and the trend does not differ between blacks and whites. Again, black plans may have declined slightly since 1982, and white plans may have declined since 1983.[22]

Figure 10 shows trends in the plans of black and white seniors to complete a four-year college program. As shown in figure 6, there have been increases in plans to complete a four-year college program among blacks, but

the rate of increase has been larger among whites. In 1976, more blacks than whites reported they were planning to complete a four-year college program, but this differential was eliminated over the decade by the faster growth in college plans among whites. To illustrate, in 1976, 58.1 percent of blacks and 49.6 percent of whites reported definite or probable plans to complete a four-year college program, but in 1985 60.3 percent of blacks and 62.4 percent of whites reported such plans.[23]

Aspirations of Black and White Seniors

Aspirations are desired outcomes, not necessarily limited by resource constraints. To measure aspirations, the ***Monitoring the Future*** surveys ask about the several post-high school activities with the instruction,"Suppose you could do just what you'd like, and nothing stood in your way. How many of the following things would you WANT to do?" Not only might we expect the aspiration items to reflect broad changes in students' goals, but the differences between levels and trends in plans and aspirations ought to tell us something about the perception of obstacles to the fulfillment of aspirations.

Figure 12 shows aspirations to attend technical or vocational school among black and white seniors. After 1976, aspirations of blacks to attend technical or vocational school have exceeded those of whites throughout the decade. Among blacks, 26 to 34 percent have aspired to technical or vocational training; the peak was 33.9 percent in 1978, and the percentage has declined irregularly to 28.1 percent in 1985. Among whites, about 27 percent aspired to technical or vocational training in the late 1970s, and the percentage has since declined steadily to 21.7 percent in 1985. Excepting the possible increase in black aspirations from 1976 to 1978, when black college

attendance was at or near its peak, the general trend among blacks and whites has been toward declining aspirations for technical and vocational training after high school.[24] Thus, there may be a difference between the non-trend in ***plans*** to attend technical or vocational schools and a downward trend in ***aspirations*** to attend such schools; relative to the declining interest in them, more seniors may be planning to attend technical or vocational schools.

Figure 12 shows aspirations to enter the armed forces among black and white high school seniors. There is a large and persistent differential between blacks and whites in aspirations to enter military service. In most years, the percentage of blacks aspiring to enter the military exceeded that of whites by 10 or more points, and the absolute black-white difference in military aspirations appears to have grown over the decade.[25] Among blacks and whites, aspirations to enter military service declined from 1976 to 1980 and grew in the early 1980s; there may have been a downturn or leveling off in military aspirations after 1983.

Figure 13 shows aspirations of black and white seniors to complete a two-year college program. As in the case of plans for two-year colleges, there is virtually no difference between black and white seniors in the level or trend of aspirations to complete a two-year college program. Although there is some fluctuation from year to year, about 27 percent of black and 25 percent of white seniors want to complete a two-year college program. Unlike the case of plans to complete a two year college program, there is no significant trend in aspirations to do so, nor any significant difference between black and white seniors in the variation of aspirations across time.

Figure 14 shows aspirations of black and white high school seniors to complete a four-year college program. These aspirations are high in both

groups, ranging from 55 to 64 percent among blacks and from 53 to 65 percent among whites. Over the decade as a whole, there is no significant difference between black and white seniors in the level or trend of aspiration to complete a four-year college program, and there has been significant growth in aspirations in both groups at the rate of about one percentage point per year.[26] There is no suggestion here of declining college aspirations among black seniors.

Plans vs. Aspirations: Is There a Gap?

Changing levels of opportunity might be expressed in changing relationships between plans and aspirations. That is, even though we have no reason to find close agreement between aspirations and plans, either at the individual level or in the aggregate, changes in aggregate plans relative to levels of aspiration may indicate changes in the availability of resources for the pursuit of different activities. To display patterns of this kind, if they exist, figure 15 to figure 18 show the time paths of aggregate plans relative to aggregate aspirations for each of the post-high school activities.

For example, figure 15 shows plans relative to aspirations to attend a technical or vocational school among black and white high school seniors. The measure used in the display is the odds of planning to attend technical or vocational school relative to the odds of wanting to attend technical or vocational school. The vertical scale is in the logarithm of the odds ratio, so equal vertical displacements indicate equal proportional change at any level of the relative odds. If the odds of planning to attend are equal to those of wanting to attend, then the measure is at its zero point, shown about two-thirds of the way up the diagram. Figure 15 shows four trend lines: the ratios of definite plans to aspirations for blacks and for whites and the

ratios of probable or definite plans to aspirations for blacks and for whites. In order to elucidate the main trends in the data, the figures show three-year moving averages for the period 1977 to 1984, where half the weight has been given to the central year at each point.

In figure 15, the data show a pattern that is characteristic of the differences between blacks and whites in plans and aspirations for all four activities. First, in the aggregate, blacks tend to report probable or definite plans in greater share than aspirations for a given outcome. Thus, among blacks the odds of reporting probable or definite plans to attend technical or vocational school are greater in every year than the odds of reporting aspirations to attend technical or vocational school. Second, among blacks and whites the odds of reporting definite plans for attending are substantially less than those of aspiring to attend; however, the odds of plans relative to desires also remain higher among black than among white seniors in the case of definite plans. Third, there has been a good deal of stability in the relationship between aggregate levels of plans and aspirations. Fourth, there appears to have been an upward trend in the odds of planning to attend relative to those of aspiring to attend, at least after 1979, and that trend has occurred among blacks and whites. Thus, one might conclude that resources for attending technical or vocational school have increased, that resources for pursuing other post-high school activities have decreased, or that there have been corresponding changes in the rewards of each of the several competing activities.[27]

Figure 16 is a similar display of trends in plans relative to aspirations to enter the armed forces. The general patterns are much the same as in the case of technical or vocational schooling, and, again, there has

been an upward trend for blacks and whites, concentrated in the period from 1978 to 1981. Figure 17 shows trends in plans relative to aspirations to complete a two-year college program. Again, the differentials between blacks and whites and between probable or definite plans follow the same pattern, and there is an upward trend in plans relative to aspirations among blacks and whites.

The temporal pattern is strikingly different in the case of plans relative to aspirations to complete a four-year college program. Here, although there is stability, or perhaps even an increase among whites in the odds of planning on a four-year college program relative to desiring one, there is a clear pattern of decline among blacks in plans relative to aspirations. In the case of definite plans, the decline begins after 1979, and in the case of probable or definite plans, it begins after 1981. The decline is not very large; it amounts to about a ten percent decline in the odds of definitely planning on a four-year college program relative to those of aspiring to complete such a program. At the same time the decline has occurred in the context of increasing plans relative to aspirations for the same goal among whites and in the context of increasing plans relative to aspirations for other post-high school activities among blacks and whites. In my opinion, this finding strongly suggests that a major shift has occurred, either a decline in the resources available for college education relative to other post-high school activities or growth in the rewards attached to other post-high school activities relative to college education.

Summary and Conclusions

Table 3 provides a brief summary of the findings reported above with respect to trends and to black-white differences in trends of post-high school

expectations and aspirations. There is very weak evidence that aggregate changes in black students' plans or aspirations correspond to the observed changes in their chances of college entry. The main finding is that plans of black and white seniors have followed similar paths in time. There have been essentially no trends in plans to attend technical or vocational school or in plans or aspirations to complete a two-year college program among blacks or whites. Plans and aspirations to enter the armed forces have increased among blacks and whites, and the increase in plans has been larger among blacks than among whites. Plans and aspirations to complete a four-year college program have grown among blacks and whites, and the increase in plans has been smaller among blacks than among whites.

The larger absolute and relative increase in plans to enter the armed forces among blacks, along with the larger increase in plans to complete a four-year college program among whites, might be said to correspond to some degree with the turnaround in black college entry. Yet, in my opinion, this is weak evidence indeed of a change in values or motivations among blacks - or even of post high school intentions, narrowly conceived - that would be sufficient to account for the decline in their chances of college entry. Both in the case of military service and of four-year college programs, the overall trends in plans are the same for blacks as for whites; there is only a difference in the rate of change, not a difference in the direction of change. Furthermore, there are no significant differences between black and white seniors in the trend of aspirations for any of the post-high school activities that have been examined here.

The movements of plans and aspirations do provide some help in our efforts to explain the turnaround in black college entry. First, we have

learned, quite certainly, that the turnaround is not explained by any massive shift in black seniors' aspirations or plans. Although there are differences in levels of expectation and aspiration between blacks and whites, there is great similarity between blacks and whites in definite plans for post-secondary education and in the trends in those plans; likewise, there is great similarity between blacks and whites in aspirations for post-secondary schooling and in the trends in those aspirations. The main differences in levels of expectation and aspiration lie in black seniors' inexplicably high reports of "probable" educational plans and in their higher reports of plans and desires to enter the military.

Second, we should consider the possibility that the turnaround in black college entry may be, at least in part, an artifact of the entry of less qualified students during the peak years of the 1970s. Although college entry in the fall following high school graduation is a very useful indicator of college attendance, especially because it can be linked to other social characteristics in the Current Population Survey, it is by no means the only relevant or sound indicator of post-high school educational attainment. If the evidence of a rise and fall in college entry is valid, then it ought to be reflected, with a lag of four to five years, in rates of college completion. If there is no lagged rise and fall in college completion, then the trends in college entry may reflect temporary shifts in the composition of cohorts of new college entrants.

Third, we have learned that we ought to look more closely at the chances of entry into military service and at the possible reasons for it. This remains an interesting, but questionable line of explanation. On the positive side, blacks' plans and aspirations to enter the military have grown;

on the negative side, they have grown almost as fast among whites as among blacks. On the negative side, also, remains the close correspondence between trends in chances of college entry among black men and women.[28]

Fourth, we ought to look further into other possible sources of the turnaround about which the present analysis provides no evidence. In particular, our finding of a downturn in the ratio of black seniors' plans to attend four-year colleges, relative to their aspirations, suggests we look for changes in the rewards and costs of college attendance. One relevant source of the turnaround in college entry may be a positive change in the labor market for recent black high school graduates. There is a good deal of evidence that school continuation is counter-cyclical, that is, that strong labor markets attract potential students, while weak labor markets drive potential students into school (Duncan 1965, Mare 1981). I have not yet seen an assessment of changes in the labor market for recent high school graduates between the late 1970s and the middle 1980s; here, the difficulty will be to show that the market has become more favorable for black high school graduates, but not so favorable for white graduates.

Another plausible source of change in black college entry is the shift away from direct grants toward loans to finance college attendance. The argument for a differential effect on blacks and whites is that, having observed the income distribution, blacks discount the future more heavily than whites at every income level. Also, blacks will be less likely than whites to have a family capable of absorbing the cost of a loan, again, regardless of income. Thus, a potential post-college debt of $10,000 will loom much larger for blacks, regardless of current family income, than for whites. One item of evidence supporting this interpretation is that black high school seniors in

the High School and Beyond survey of 1980 were far more likely than either whites or hispanics to report that "expenses" or "financial aid" were very important in their choice of a post-secondary educational institution. For example, 62.8 percent of black male seniors, compared to 31.9 percent of white male seniors, said that financial aid was very important in their choice (National Center for Research in Vocational Education 1987:85). Among the findings of this report, I believe that the downturn in blacks' plans for college, relative to their aspirations, points in the direction of a lack of financial support as a key variable in explaining observed changes in college entry.

FOOTNOTES

1. Support for this research was provided by grants from the Spencer Foundation, the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and the Kenneth D. Brody Foundation and by grants for core support of population research from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (HD-5876) and from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation to the Center for Demography and Ecology at The University of Wisconsin-Madison. Kenneth A. Shaw and Thomas G. Mortenson prompted my curiosity about trends in post-high school aspirations of black and white seniors, and Robert Mare provided other helpful suggestions. The opinions expressed herein are those of the author.

2. Children's Defense Fund (1985), College Entrance Examination Board (1985), Lee, Rotermund, and Bertschman (1985). Perhaps the best reviews of the facts and issues surrounding the possible decline in college attendance among blacks are Arbeiter (1986) and Arbeiter (1987).

3. This choice of reference categories affects the overall location of the two trend lines in the vertical dimension, but it does not affect the year-to-year trends or the relative position of the black and white trend lines.

4. Clearly, it will be important to look at rates of college completion for cohorts approximating those who entered college during these periods.

5. When the chance of entering college is near 50 percent, a shift of .1 on the logarithmic scale is equivalent to shifts of about 2.5 percentage points upward/downward in the chances of college entry/non-entry.

6. The black-white difference in the log scale is -.7, and $e^{-.7} = .5$.

7. See Hauser (1987) for details. To a reasonable approximation, the adjusted trend line in figure 2 gives the difference between the black and white lines in figure 1. However, the models on which figure 1 is based permit the effects of income and other variables to differ between blacks and whites, while the adjustment in figure 2 is based on a model in which the effects of income and other variables are the same for blacks and whites.

8. This model does not permit effects of sex, region, metropolitan location, or family income to vary between blacks and whites or across years. Thus, the difference between the two trend lines in figure 2 is entirely due to differences in population composition.

9. Again, the data in Figure 4 have been smoothed using 3-year moving averages.

10. Of course, the Wisconsin studies are by no means unique in documenting the importance of aspirations and expectations in post-school experience. Although several critics have doubted the validity of this model among blacks, recent work has provided solid support for it (Gottfredson 1981, Wolfle 1985).

11. I refer, for example, to the National Longitudinal Studies of Labor Market Experience (Parnes Surveys) of the late 1960s; the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972; the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (Ohio State-National Opinion Research Center) begun in 1979; and the 1980 High School and Beyond study of seniors and sophomores. Possibly excepting the 1972 NLS and the 1980 HSB study, I do not believe that it would be possible to establish a genuine trend in levels of educational or occupational aspiration using any of these surveys (compare National Center for Research in Vocational Education 1987), if for no other reason than the fact, demonstrated herein, that aspirations vary substantially in the

aggregate over periods much less than a decade in length.

12. Although the MTF surveys began in 1975, there were too many missing data on these items in the 1975 survey. They have not been used in the present report.

13. For example, from the documentation of the sampling design of the MTF surveys (Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley 1980:Appendix A, Appendix B), it would appear that the design factor is at least 2.7 for cross-time comparisons of post-high school plans and aspirations between blacks and whites. This says that annual samples of 1500 to 2000 black high school seniors are no more reliable than simple random samples of 550 to 740 persons. The design factor may actually be larger than 4, which would say that the annual samples of blacks are no more reliable than simple random samples of 375 to 500 persons.

14. The item on graduate or professional school attendance has been excluded from the present analysis. Among whites and blacks the rates of positive response are so high that the face validity of the item is doubtful in comparison with those that refer to more proximate decisions.

15. Although the MTF surveys do ask respondents about their expected jobs at age 30 (in one of 5 forms covering one fifth of the sample), they do not ask about plans to enter the work force directly after the completion of high school. The only clue about such plans is provided in a sixth response alternative in question C22, "None of the above." In my opinion, this is not a satisfactory proxy for plans to enter the labor market. Not only does the question refer to aspirations, rather than plans, but the "none" response does not distinguish between home and labor market activities.

16. Throughout this section, all of the statements in the text about trends, black-white differences in plans, and trends in black white differences are supported by formal statistical tests. In carrying out these tests, I have used a design factor (DEFF = 2.7) to deflate the counts in table 1. In reporting test results, I use the term "change" to refer to any variation in responses across years, and I use the term "trend" to refer to monotonic or linear shifts in responses across years. In analyses of the black sample, I have used a .05 significance level, and in analyses of the combined black and white samples, I have used a .01 significance level. Likelihood-ratio chi square tests for change in the proportion of black students with definite or probable plans to attend technical or vocational schools after high school yield non-significant values. There is no significant linear trend, either in the proportion of black students with definite plans to attend technical or vocational school or in the proportion of black students with definite or probable plans to attend technical or vocational school. There are no significant changes across time in the relative chances of probable and definite plans not to attend technical or vocational school.

17. The changes over time in definite and in probable plans to enter the armed forces are statistically significant. A positive linear trend in the chances of expressing definite or probable plans to enter the armed forces accounts for about two thirds of all change across the decade in the combination of these two responses; there is no trend across time in the choice between definite and probable plans. There is no significant change across time in the relative chances of definite and probable plans not to enter the armed forces.

18. For the decade as a whole, there is no significant change or linear trend in the shares of definite and probable attenders among those with plans to complete a two-year college program, nor in the shares of definite and probable non-attenders among those without such plans. That is, all of the significant trend in plans for two-year college lies in the contrast between those with and without such plans.

19. In global tests for change, there is no significant variation in definite plans from year to year, but there is significant temporal change in the proportion stating definite or probable plans to complete a four-year college program. However, there are significant linear increases in the chances of having a definite plan to complete a four-year college program and in the chances of having a probable or definite plan to complete a four-year college program. As in the previous analyses, there are no significant temporal variations in the relative chances of definite or probable plans, either within the group planning to attend college or within the group not planning to attend college.

20. There is no significant linear trend across time, nor other temporal change in the log odds that seniors definitely or probably plan to attend technical or vocational school. Both in the case of definite plans and in the case of probable or definite plans combined, the cross-classification of race by plan by year is fitted well by a loglinear model in which there are no three-way interactions, and there is no association between plans and year, linear or nonlinear, for blacks or whites.

21. The black-white differences in definite and in probable or definite plans to enter the armed forces are highly significant. There are highly significant changes across time in plans to enter the military, and a

substantial component of these changes is explained by linear growth in such plans (on a logarithmic scale). In the case of definite plans, there is no significant difference in the linear trend between blacks and whites, but in the combination of probable and definite plans, there has been a significantly larger growth rate among blacks than among whites. Growth in the odds of having probable or definite plans to enter the military has been about 3 percent per year greater among blacks than among whites.

22. Again, the text in this paragraph is supported by a series of statistical tests based on loglinear models of the classification of plans by year for blacks and whites. In fitting linear trends, I have looked only at the decade as a whole, and not at shorter periods.

23. The statistical findings about black-white differentials and trends are the same for definite plans and for probable or definite plans to complete a four-year college program. There is a strong, positive linear trend in the log odds of plans to complete college, but the trend is significantly weaker among blacks than among whites.

24. The differences in aspirations to attend technical or vocational school between years and between blacks and whites are statistically significant. There is a significant downward trend in these aspirations, but there are no statistically significant differences between blacks and whites in the trend, either in its linear or nonlinear components.

25. At the same time, there is not a statistically significant difference between the temporal changes in military aspirations of black and white seniors; again, growth in the percentage-point gap is explained by the higher initial level of military aspirations among black seniors.

26. Although it appears from figure 14 that growth in aspiration to complete college may have been less among blacks than whites, the difference in growth rates is not statistically significant.

27. There are at least two other possible explanations of changes in aggregate plans relative to aspirations. One is that there has been some change in selectivity into the senior year of high school. For example, there have been increases in high school graduation rates in recent cohorts of black youth. I do not believe these changes could be large enough to account for the observed patterns of change. Furthermore, changes in graduation rates among whites have been negligible and, thus, could not explain the largely parallel shifts in plans relative to aspirations among blacks and whites. A second alternative explanation is methodological, that there may have been changes in the historic tendency of black survey respondents to over-choose socially desirable responses and to report levels of expectation and aspiration that appear unrealistically high in relationship to their resources. Again, this does not appear a likely alternative. It is not clear why such a shift in response style should yield different effects on plans and aspirations or how it could lead to parallel trends among blacks and whites.

28. To look further into this possibility, I plan to examine trends in the schooling of military personnel, using data supplied by the Department of Defense.

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Table 1

Post-High School Plans of Black High School Seniors, 1976-85

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
C21.	How likely is it that you will do each of the following things after high school? (1 = definitely won't, 2 = probably won't, 3 = probably will, 4 = definitely will)									
	A. Attend a technical or vocational school									
1	35.2	35.4	34.7	35.9	36.6	34.6	34.5	39.0	42.0	38.0
2	29.4	24.8	25.9	26.2	25.4	26.0	24.3	24.1	24.8	25.4
3	25.5	27.4	26.5	27.6	25.6	26.7	29.8	25.6	22.3	25.7
4	9.9	12.4	12.9	10.3	12.4	12.7	11.5	11.3	10.8	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
N	1448	1673	1790	1499	1861	1980	1830	1835	2007	1778
	B. Serve in the Armed Forces									
1	47.2	52.7	52.6	51.5	51.9	49.6	50.7	43.1	49.8	42.1
2	23.6	23.0	20.8	21.4	22.3	21.3	17.8	19.4	18.2	19.4
3	16.8	16.0	15.4	17.1	15.5	18.3	19.5	21.9	18.9	22.3
4	12.5	8.2	11.2	9.9	10.2	10.7	12.0	15.6	13.1	16.3
Total	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
N	1370	1531	1689	1401	1710	1849	1720	1726	1887	1690
	C. Graduate from a 2-year college program									
1	34.1	32.4	32.0	34.6	34.2	32.4	30.1	31.4	33.8	30.9
2	31.2	25.7	28.2	27.9	27.5	27.3	25.8	25.7	24.2	27.6
3	25.5	28.8	28.9	27.1	27.2	28.3	30.3	29.8	29.5	29.6
4	9.2	13.1	11.0	10.3	11.2	12.1	13.8	13.1	12.6	11.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
N	1438	1668	1787	1488	1837	1959	1829	1820	1994	1759

(continued next page)

(Table 1, continued)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
					D. Graduate from a 4-year college program					
1	22.6	21.0	24.9	23.4	23.1	20.2	22.1	20.6	18.3	19.0
2	19.3	19.0	20.2	19.7	17.2	16.8	20.5	19.1	18.5	20.8
3	25.6	24.3	22.8	20.2	23.8	24.6	24.4	24.9	23.4	24.0
4	32.5	35.6	32.2	36.7	35.8	38.5	33.0	35.4	39.8	36.3
Total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
N	1488	1685	1809	1519	1850	2002	1834	1863	2030	1784
					E. Attend graduate or professional school after college					
1	28.1	28.7	32.2	29.2	32.0	29.5	31.6	29.1	26.6	28.1
2	31.8	29.5	30.9	32.3	29.5	29.1	31.2	30.3	30.9	32.0
3	26.7	26.8	23.3	24.4	23.7	26.9	23.1	26.7	25.9	26.5
4	13.5	15.0	13.6	13.9	14.9	14.6	14.2	14.0	16.7	13.5
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1
N	1436	1650	1791	1485	1830	1954	1803	1815	1981	1761
C22. Suppose you could do just what you'd like, and nothing stood in your way. How many of the following things would you WANT to do? (A = attend a technical or vocational school, B = serve in the armed forces, C = graduate from a 2-year college program, D = graduate from college (4-year program), E = attend graduate or professional school after college, F = none of the above)										
A	26.0	30.2	33.9	30.2	32.1	29.4	30.8	27.9	26.2	28.1
B	24.7	22.0	24.3	22.7	18.4	23.8	24.6	30.6	26.4	30.2
C	22.8	30.8	29.8	24.4	25.9	26.4	30.0	25.9	25.4	26.3
D	58.0	57.2	55.5	58.5	58.4	62.8	59.3	63.7	64.2	61.5
E	38.0	39.0	35.4	38.9	38.3	39.4	36.7	38.1	41.8	39.9
F	6.5	5.7	6.4	8.1	7.3	4.5	5.3	4.7	4.8	5.1
N	1546	1757	1865	1585	1926	2095	1906	1915	2088	1844

Note: Source is Jerald G. Bachman, Lloyd D. Johnston, and Patrick M. O'Malley, *Monitoring the Future: Questionnaire Responses from the Nation's High School Seniors*. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan (selected years).

Table 2

Post-High School Plans of White High School Seniors, 1976-85

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
C21.	How likely is it that you will do each of the following things after high school? (1 = definitely won't, 2 = probably won't, 3 = probably will, 4 = definitely will)									
	A. Attend a technical or vocational school									
1	41.2	43.8	43.7	43.5	44.0	44.5	43.4	43.6	46.8	49.3
2	33.7	31.4	30.3	31.4	31.4	29.9	30.7	30.0	27.9	27.2
3	17.2	16.3	17.9	16.9	15.7	16.3	16.9	17.2	16.4	15.0
4	8.0	8.4	8.2	8.3	8.9	9.3	9.0	9.2	8.9	8.4
Total	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
N	11042	11490	13865	12491	12111	13192	13125	12022	11589	11467
	B. Serve in the Armed Forces									
1	57.8	61.8	64.5	64.0	58.9	60.6	59.4	59.1	62.5	64.1
2	30.0	27.9	25.8	26.9	30.3	27.7	27.9	26.7	24.8	23.6
3	8.5	6.4	6.3	6.2	7.4	7.3	7.9	8.4	7.0	7.0
4	3.7	4.0	3.4	2.9	3.4	4.4	4.8	5.8	5.7	5.3
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	10853	11217	13598	12102	11821	12867	12827	11787	11333	11271
	C. Graduate from a 2-year college program									
1	38.2	40.9	39.6	38.4	38.9	37.3	36.3	35.6	39.4	40.5
2	31.5	30.6	31.6	30.9	30.6	30.8	31.3	30.1	29.0	28.7
3	19.1	17.9	18.6	19.8	18.9	19.5	20.3	21.7	19.3	19.4
4	11.2	10.6	10.3	11.0	11.6	12.5	12.2	12.7	12.3	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1
N	11043	11435	13946	12441	12066	13141	13083	11978	11529	11461

(continued next page)

(Table 2, continued)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
					D. Graduate from a 4-year college program					
1	30.3	30.9	30.0	27.6	24.8	23.5	25.1	22.6	23.1	21.4
2	20.0	18.6	18.6	18.5	18.5	18.2	19.7	19.1	17.2	16.3
3	22.7	21.9	21.5	22.1	22.0	22.9	21.2	21.9	20.5	21.0
4	26.9	28.7	29.9	31.8	34.7	35.5	33.9	36.3	39.2	41.4
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1
N	11178	11571	14068	12600	12295	13334	13241	12150	11729	11673
					E. Attend graduate or professional school after college					
1	39.6	39.0	38.2	36.0	32.7	32.0	33.5	31.4	31.6	29.9
2	33.7	32.2	32.9	33.7	34.2	34.7	35.1	36.2	33.4	33.3
3	19.4	21.4	21.1	22.4	23.5	24.5	23.3	22.8	25.4	26.1
4	7.3	7.5	7.8	7.9	9.5	8.7	8.1	9.6	9.6	10.7
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	11003	11395	13868	12381	12057	13063	13028	11923	11511	11441

C22. Suppose you could do just what you'd like, and nothing stood in your way. How many of the following things would you WANT to do? (A = attend a technical or vocational school, B = serve in the armed forces, C = graduate from a 2-year college program, D = graduate from college (4-year program), E = attend graduate or professional school after college, F = none of the above)

1	27.1	27.1	27.2	27.4	25.8	26.1	26.5	26.3	24.7	21.7
2	14.1	13.0	12.2	10.7	10.6	11.6	12.9	15.6	13.9	12.7
3	24.4	24.2	24.5	25.9	24.9	25.7	25.4	26.3	24.3	23.3
4	53.3	54.4	55.9	58.2	60.1	61.6	60.4	62.5	63.8	65.2
5	32.9	34.9	35.4	36.8	38.8	39.4	38.9	39.8	41.0	41.9
6	13.5	13.7	12.6	11.2	9.9	9.4	9.7	8.0	8.4	8.5
N	11456	11704	14159	12750	12437	13546	13498	12339	11909	11838

Note: Source is Jerald G. Bachman, Lloyd D. Johnston, and Patrick M. O'Malley, *Monitoring the Future: Questionnaire Responses from the Nation's High School Seniors*. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan (selected years).

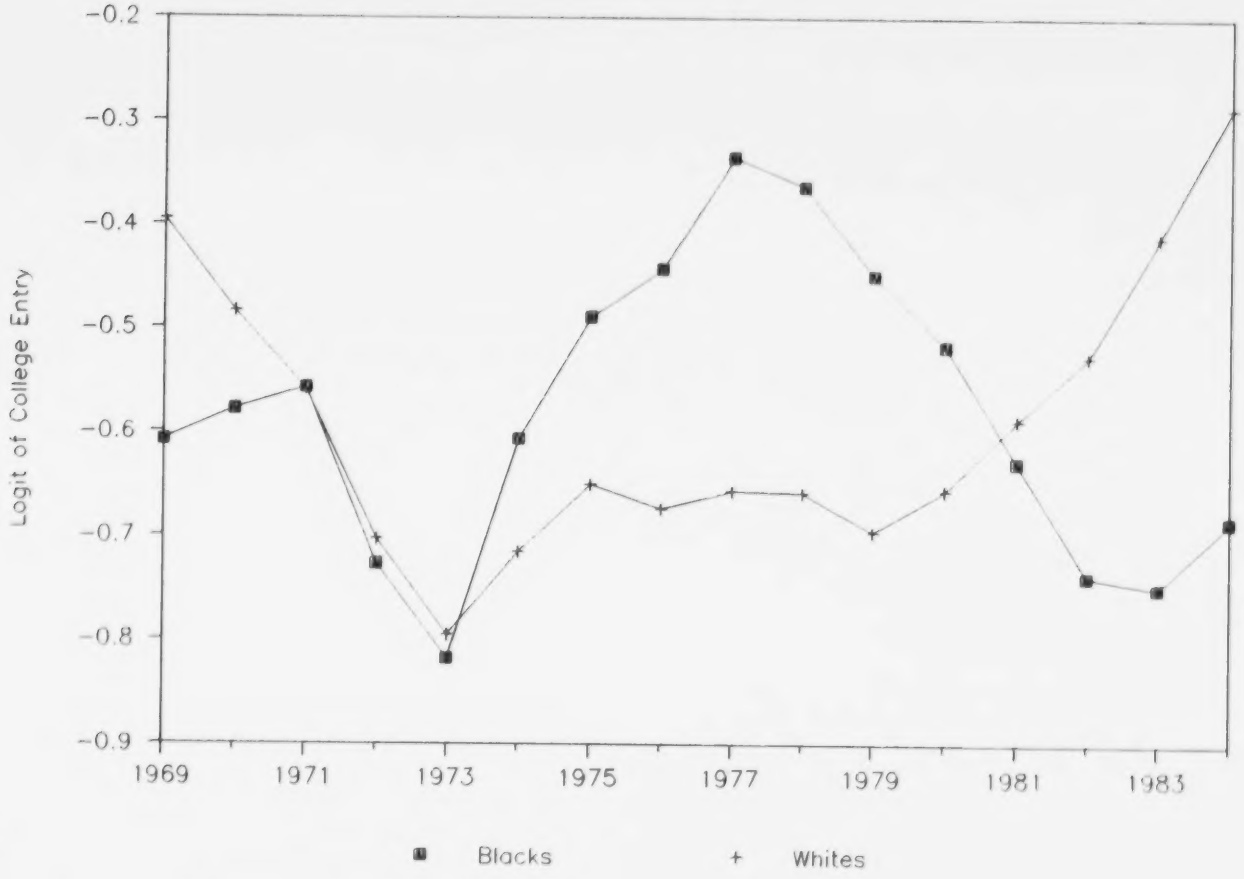
Table 3

Summary of Findings from Monitoring the Future Surveys, 1976-85

	Tech-Voc	Arm Serv	2-Yr Col	4-Yr Col
Expectations				
Black	No Trend	Up	No Trend	Up
White	No Trend	Up	Up (small)	Up
Difference in Trend	None	Black Larger	None	White Larger
Aspirations				
Black	Down	U-Shaped	None	Up
White	Down	U-Shaped	None	Up
Difference in Trend	None	None	None	None
Expectations Relative to Aspirations				
Black	Up	Up	Up	Down
White	Up	Up	Up	None
Difference in Trend	None	None	None	Black Decline

Figure 1

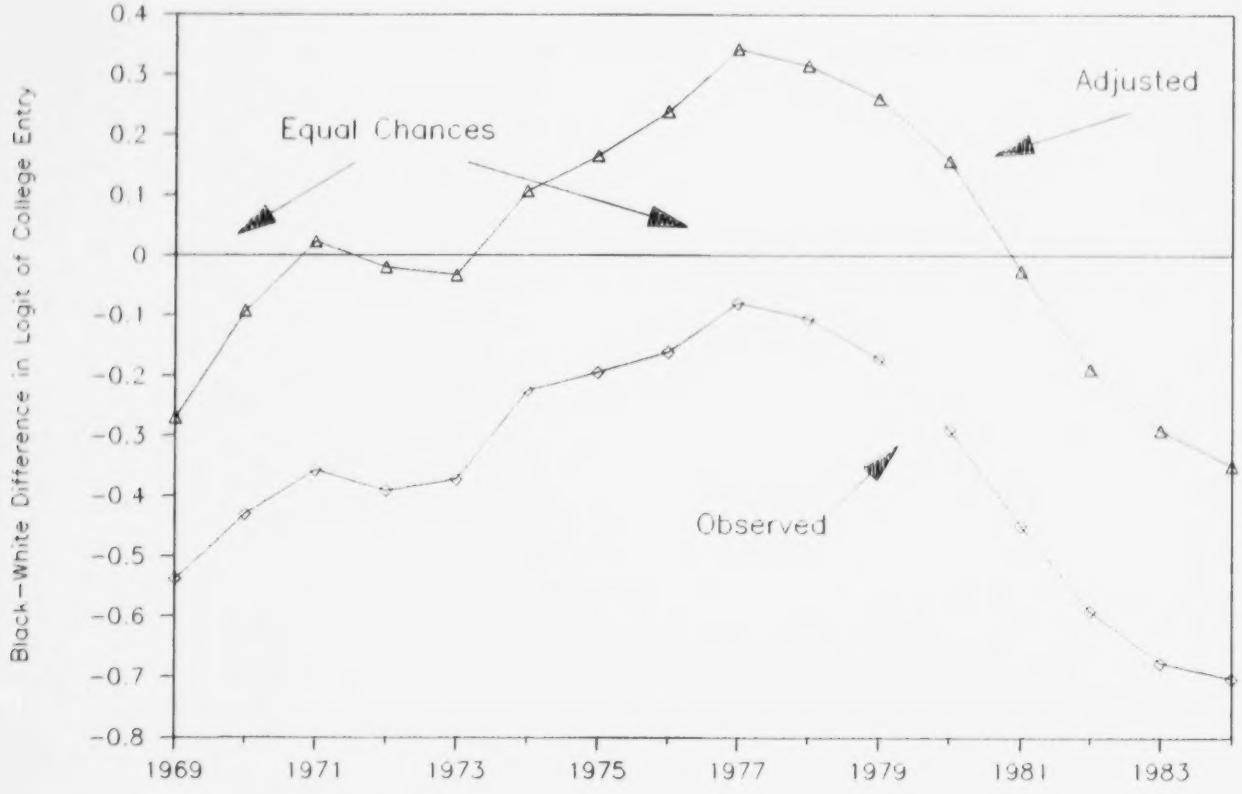
College Entry Among Recent Black and White High School Graduates: Adjusted for Family Income, Sex, Region, and Metropolitan Location, October 1969–84



ADJ2 (BWTREND2) 7/12/87

Figure 2

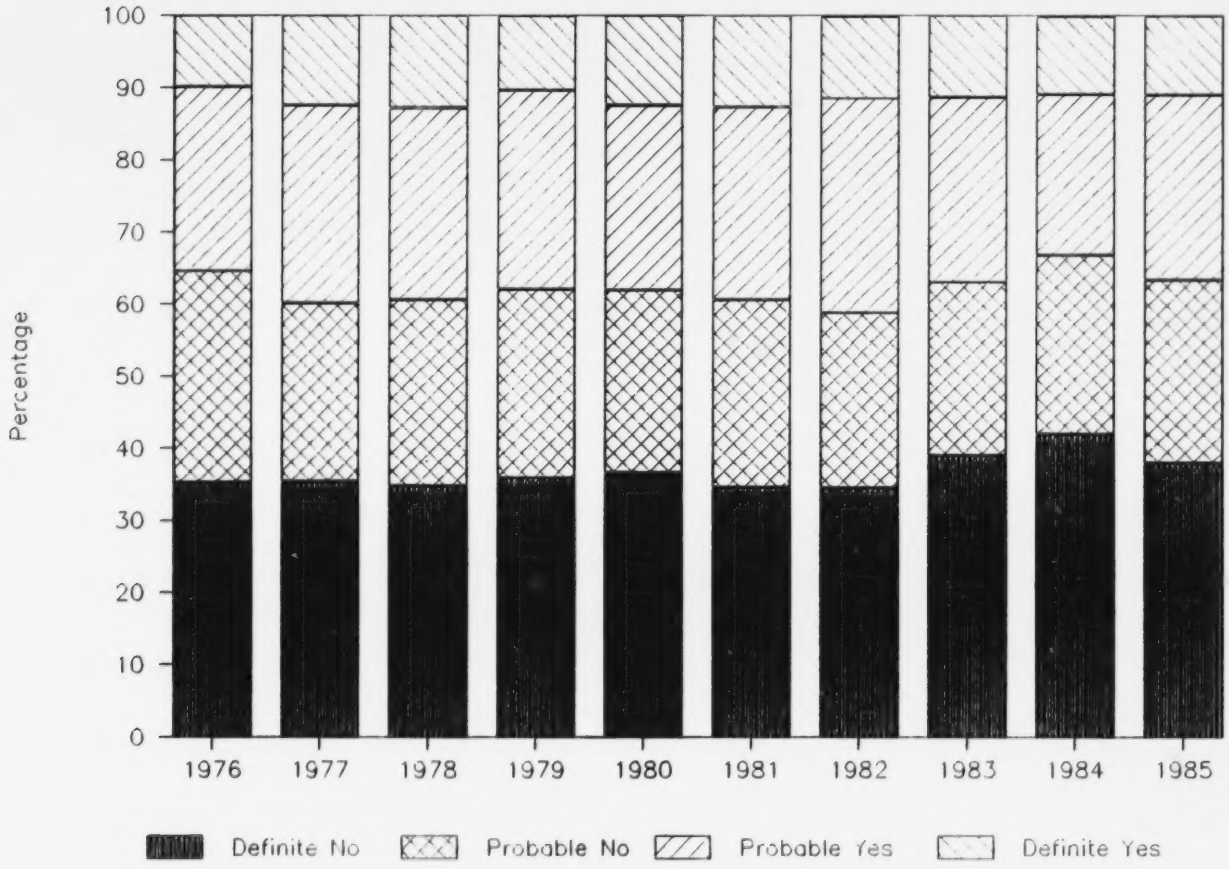
Black–White Differences in College Entry: Observed and Adjusted for Family Income, Sex, Region, and Metropolitan Location, October 1969–84



BWDIFF2 (BWDIFF1) 7/12/87

Figure 3

Plans to Attend a Technical or Vocational School
Black High School Seniors, 1976–85

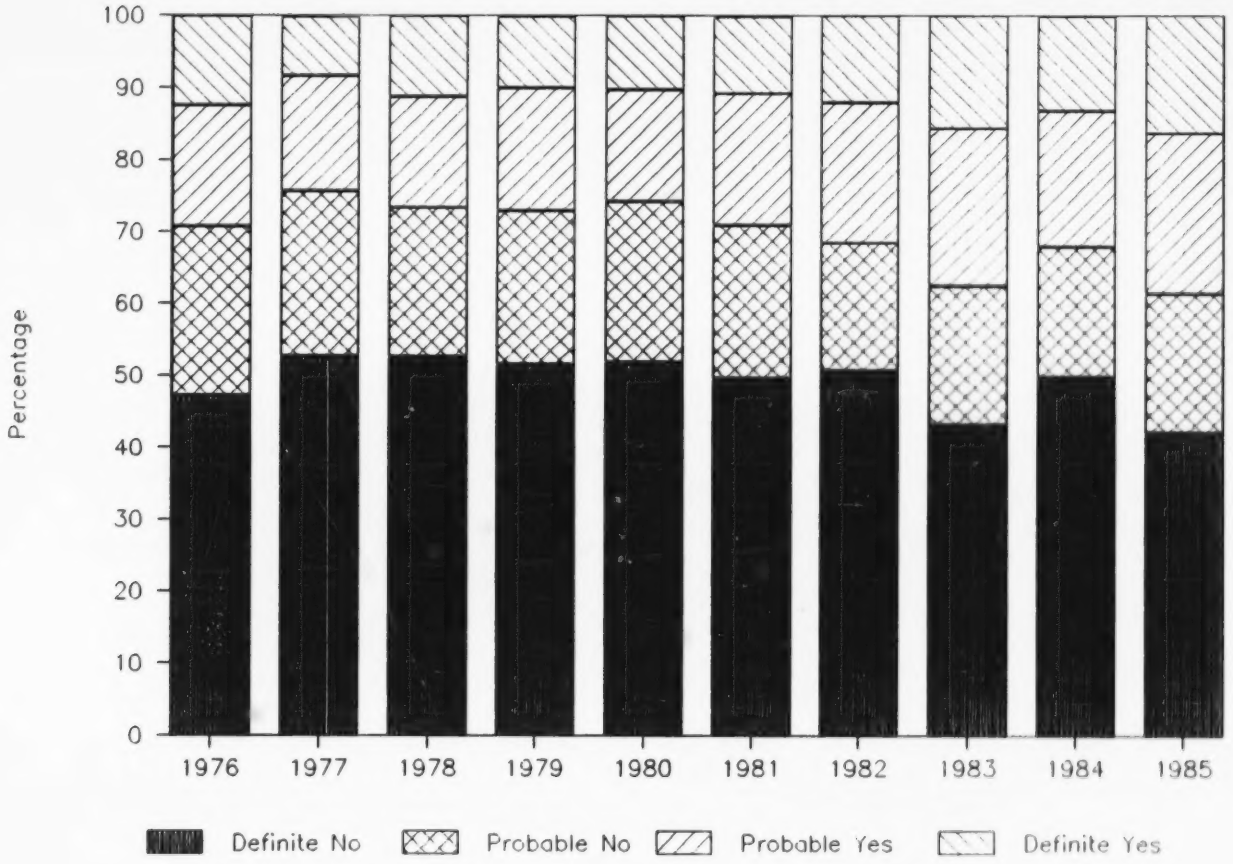


BVOC (MONITORS) 7/13/87

Figure 4

Plans to Serve in the Armed Forces

Black High School Seniors, 1976–85

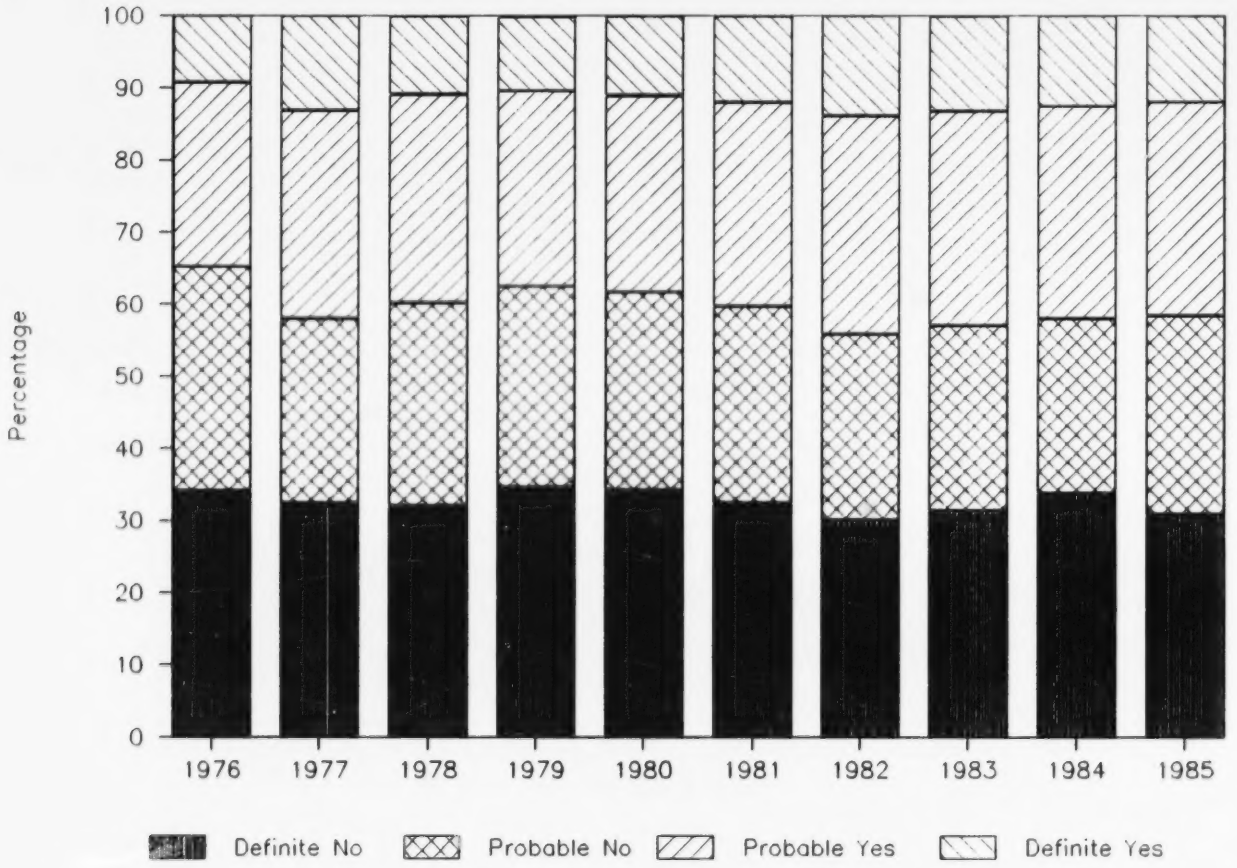


BARM (MONITOR5) 7/13/87

Figure 5

Plans to Graduate from a Two-Year College Program

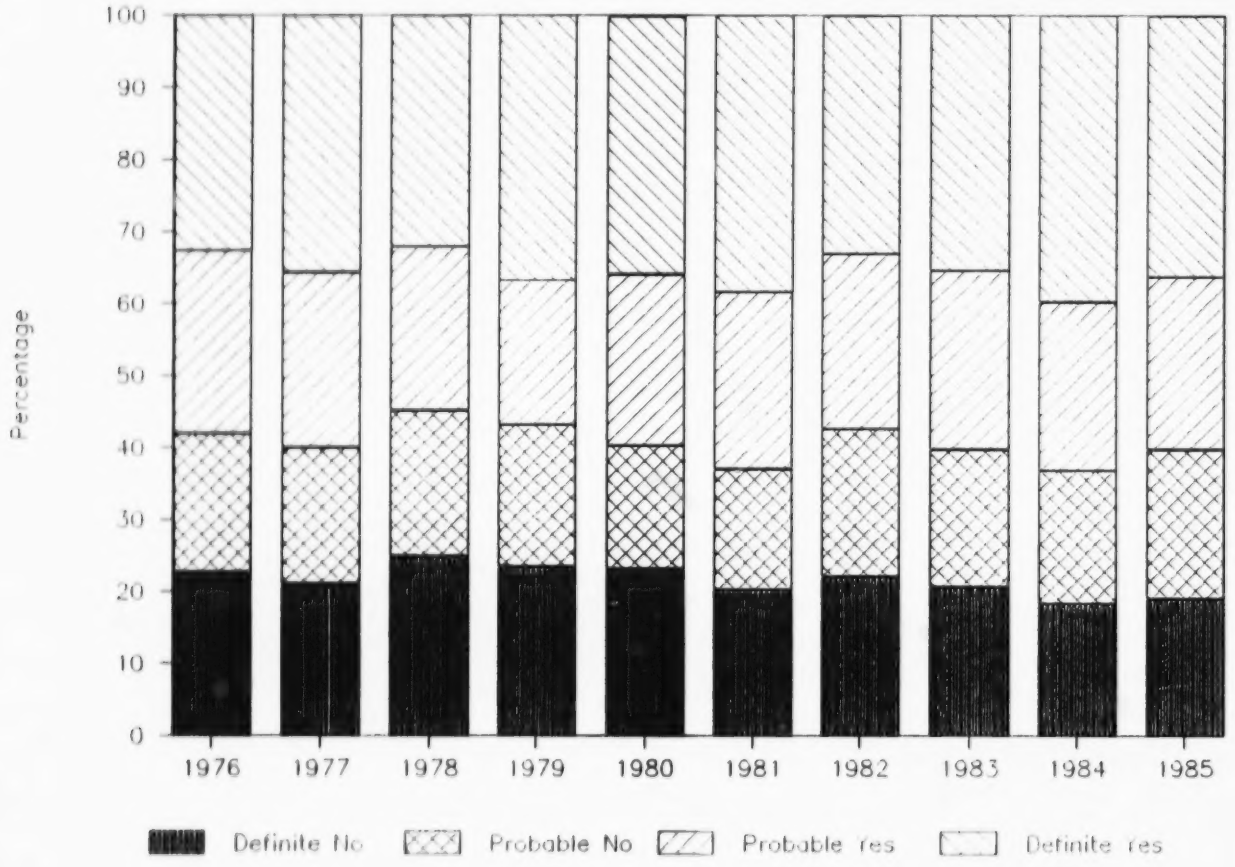
Black High School Seniors, 1976-85



B2YR (MONITOR5) 7/13/87

Figure 6

Plans to Graduate from College (Four-Year Program)
Black High School Seniors, 1976-85

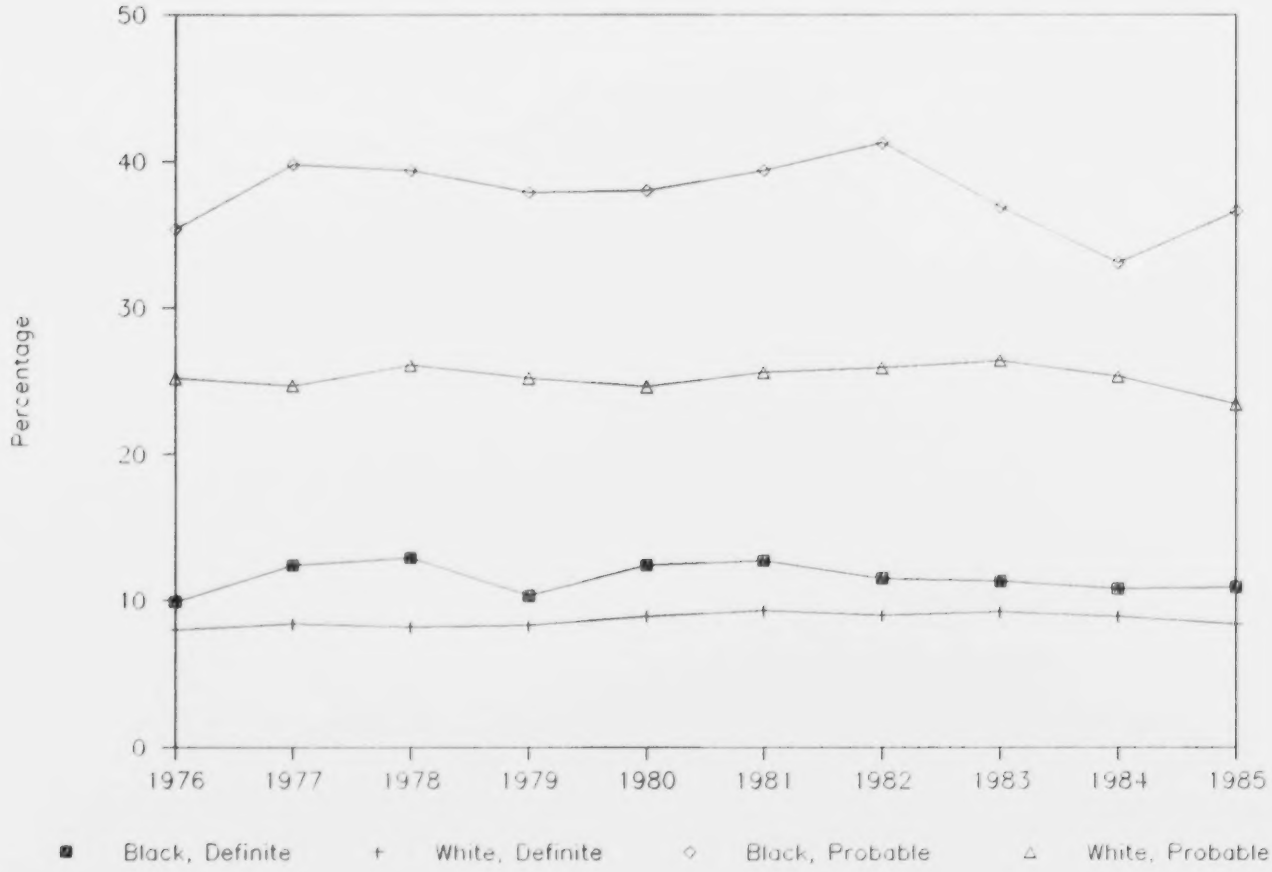


B4YR (MONITORS) 7/13/87

Figure 7

Plans to Attend a Technical or Vocational School

Black and White High School Seniors, 1976–85

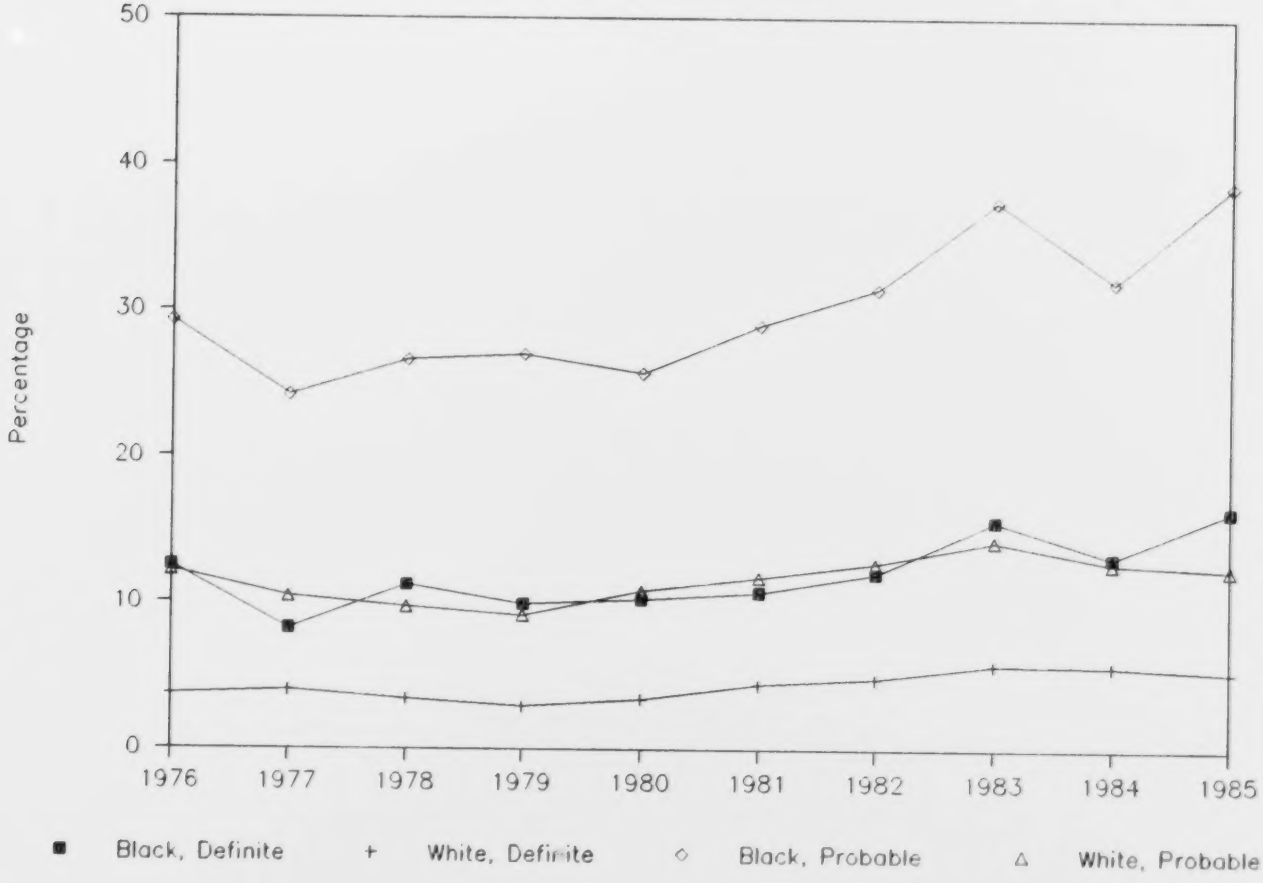


VOCPLN (MONITOR7) 7/16/87

Figure 8

Plans to Enter the Armed Forces

Black and White High School Seniors, 1976–85

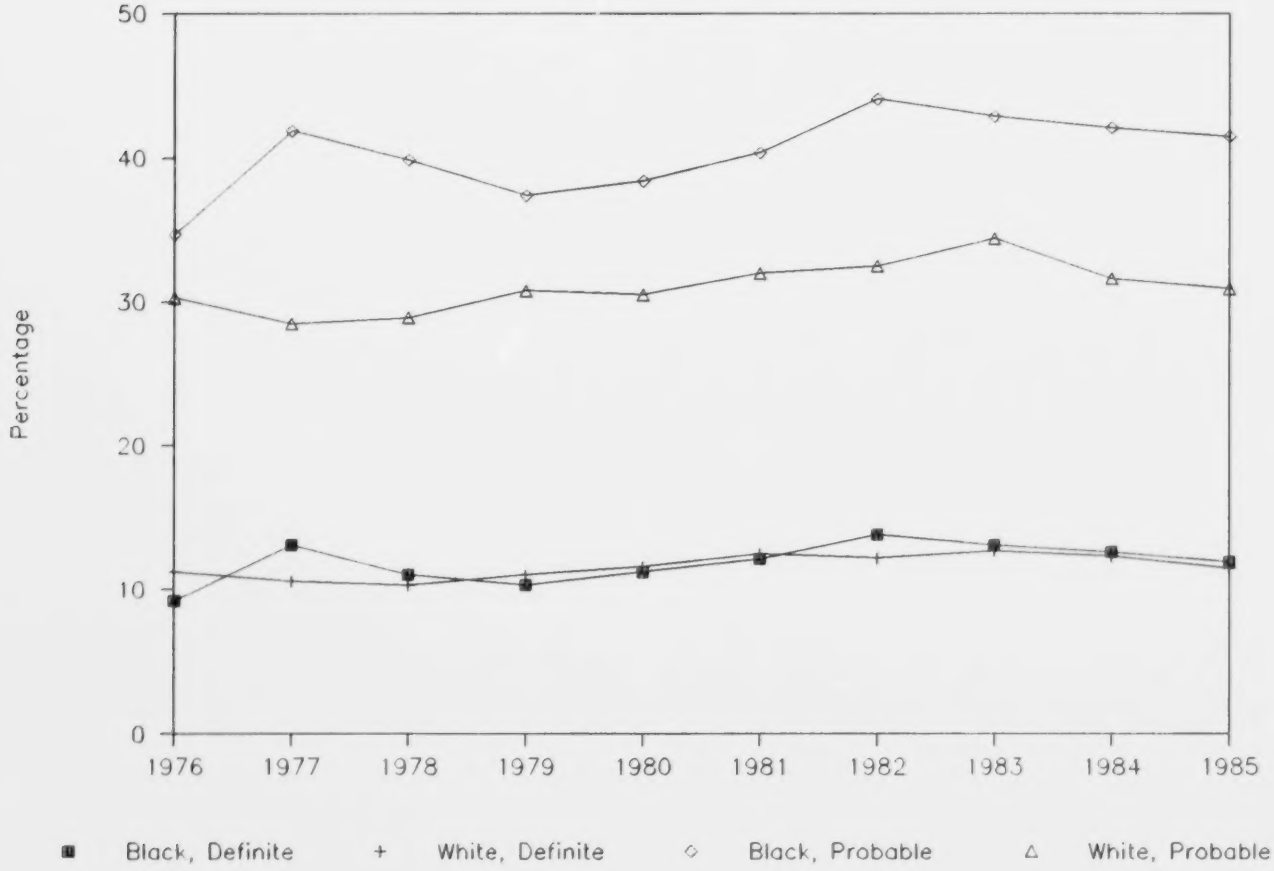


ARMPLN (MONITOR7) 7/16/87

Figure 9

Plans to Complete a Two-Year College Program

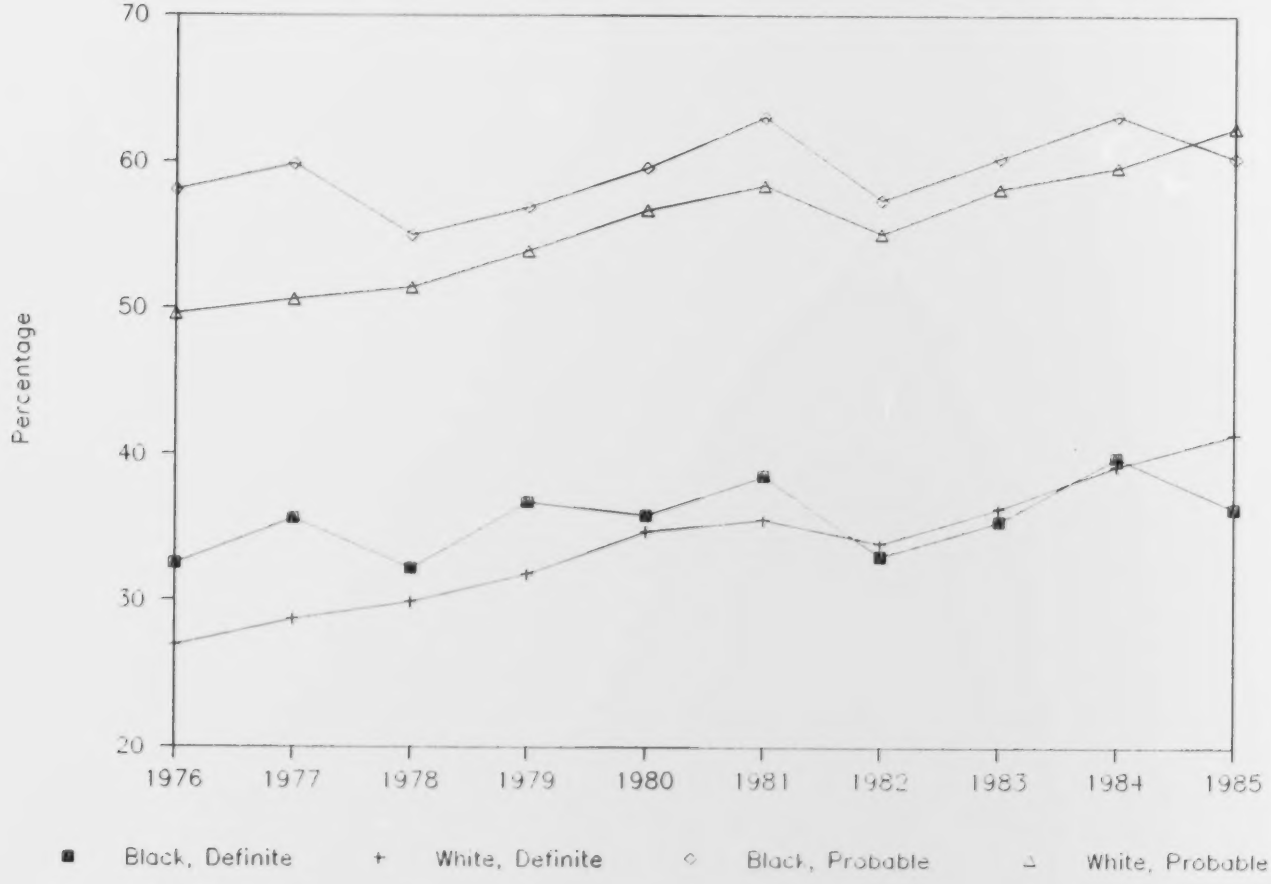
Black and White High School Seniors, 1976-85



G2YRPLN (MONITOR7) 7/16/87

Figure 10

Plans to Complete a Four-Year College Program
Black and White High School Seniors, 1976-85

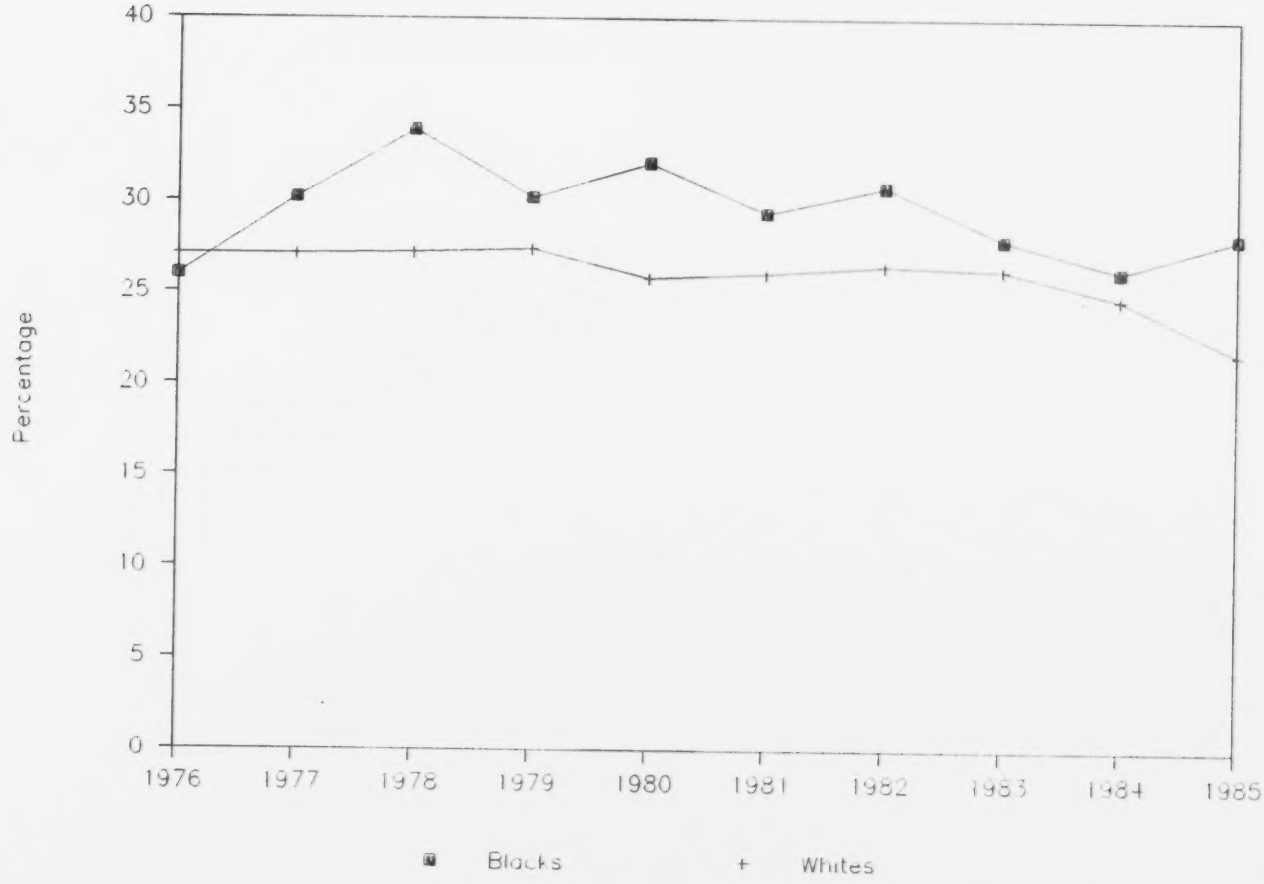


G4YRPLN (MONITOR7) 7/16/87

Figure 11

Aspiration to Attend a Technical or Vocational School

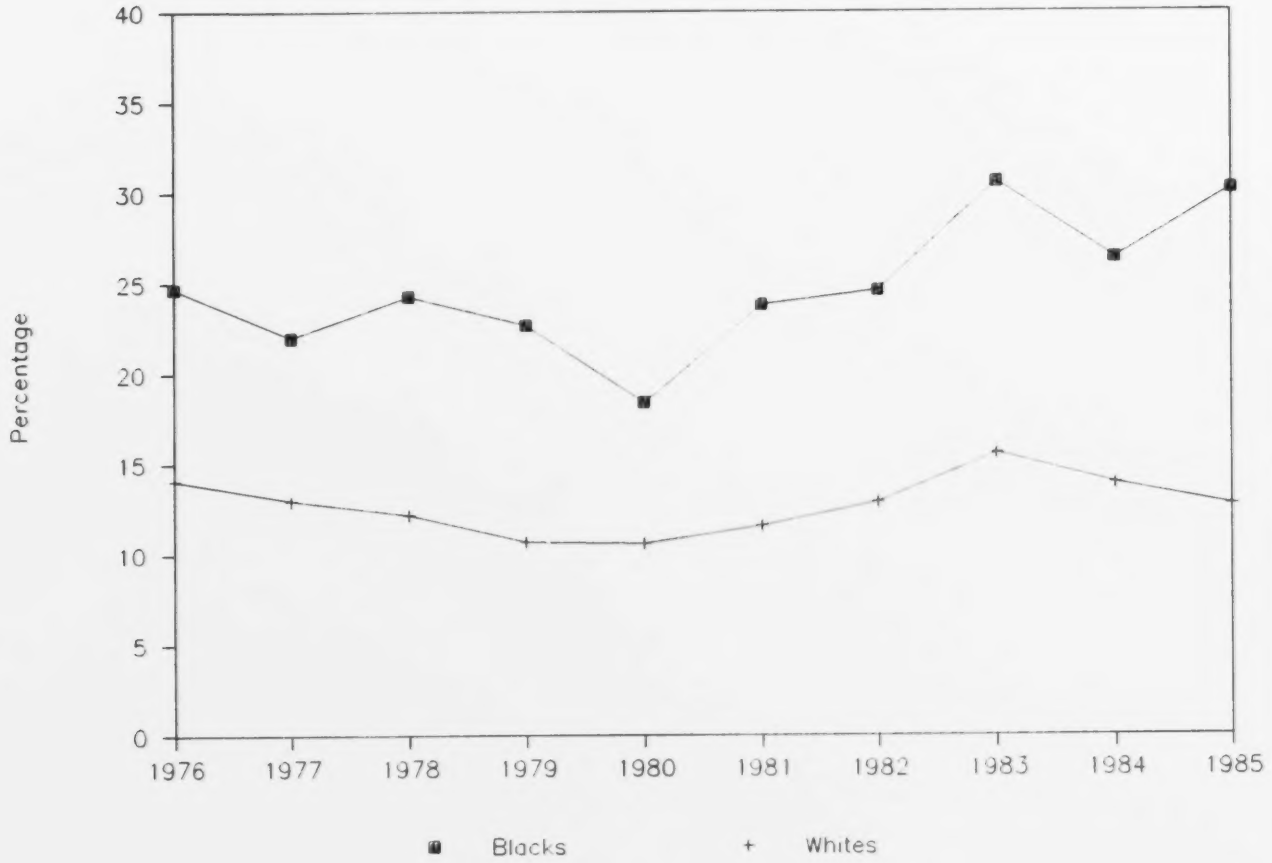
Black and White High School Seniors, 1976–85



VGCASP (MONITORS) 7/16/87

Figure 12

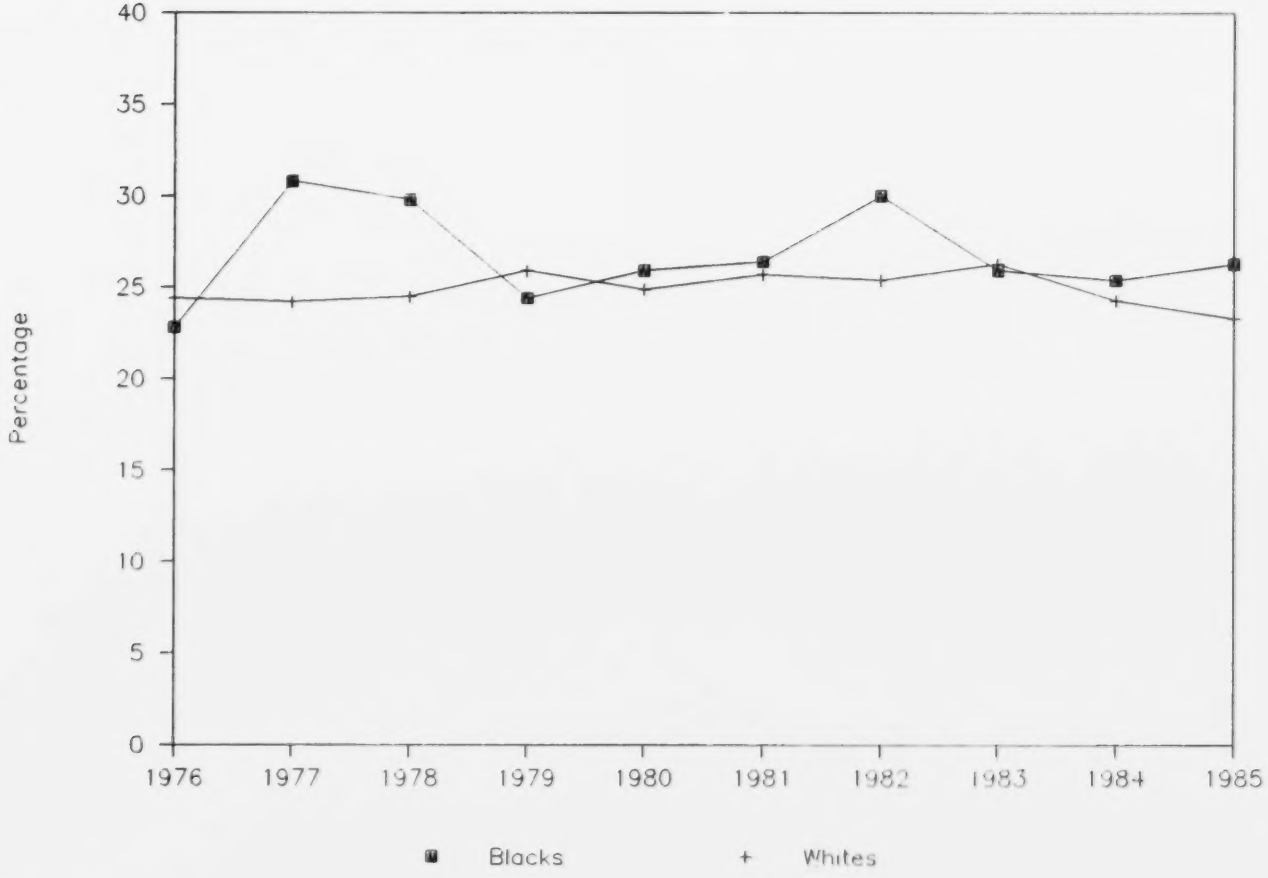
Aspiration to Enter the Armed Forces
Black and White High School Seniors, 1976–85



APMASP (MONITORS) 7/16/87

Figure 13

Aspiration to Complete a Two-Year College Program
Black and White High School Seniors, 1976-85

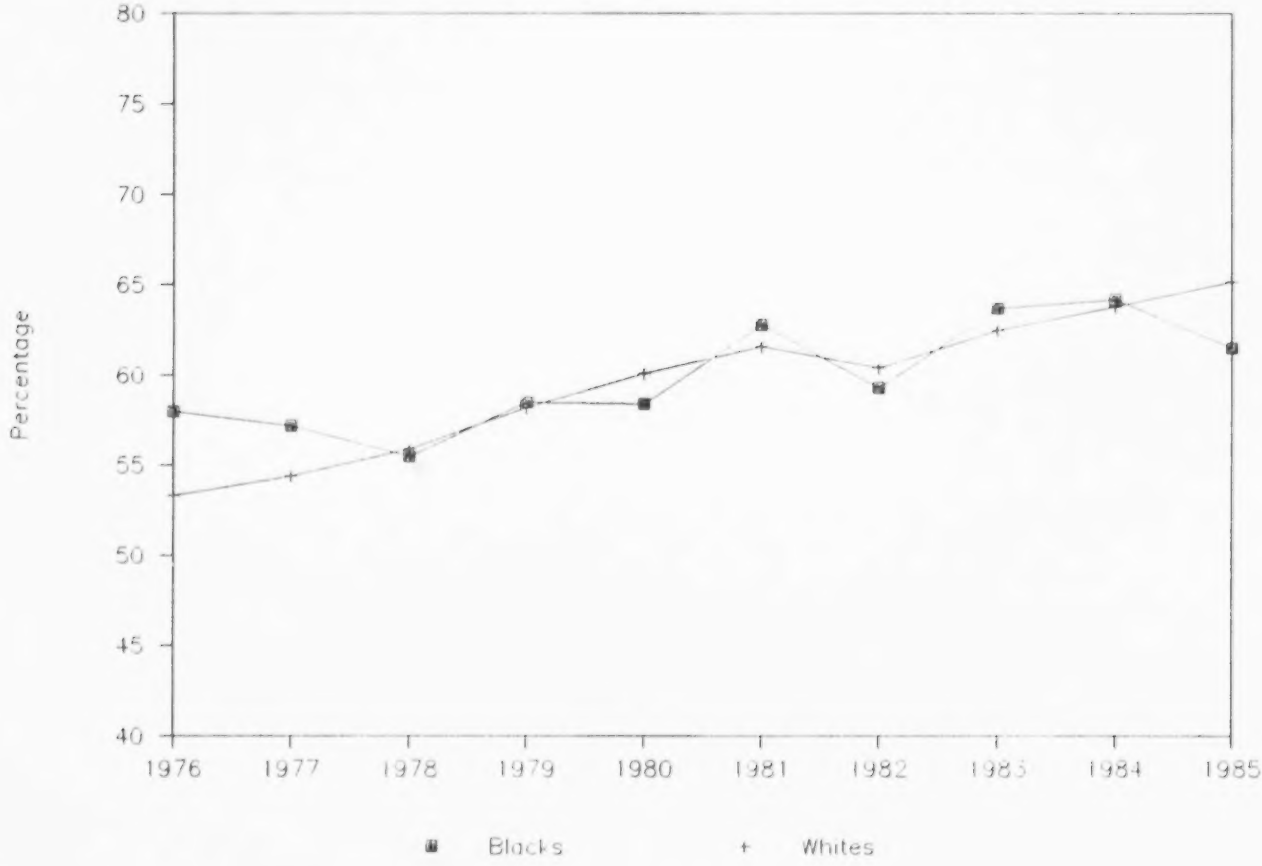


G2rRASP (MONITORS) 7/16/87

Figure 14

Aspiration to Complete a Four-Year College Program

Black and White High School Seniors, 1976-85

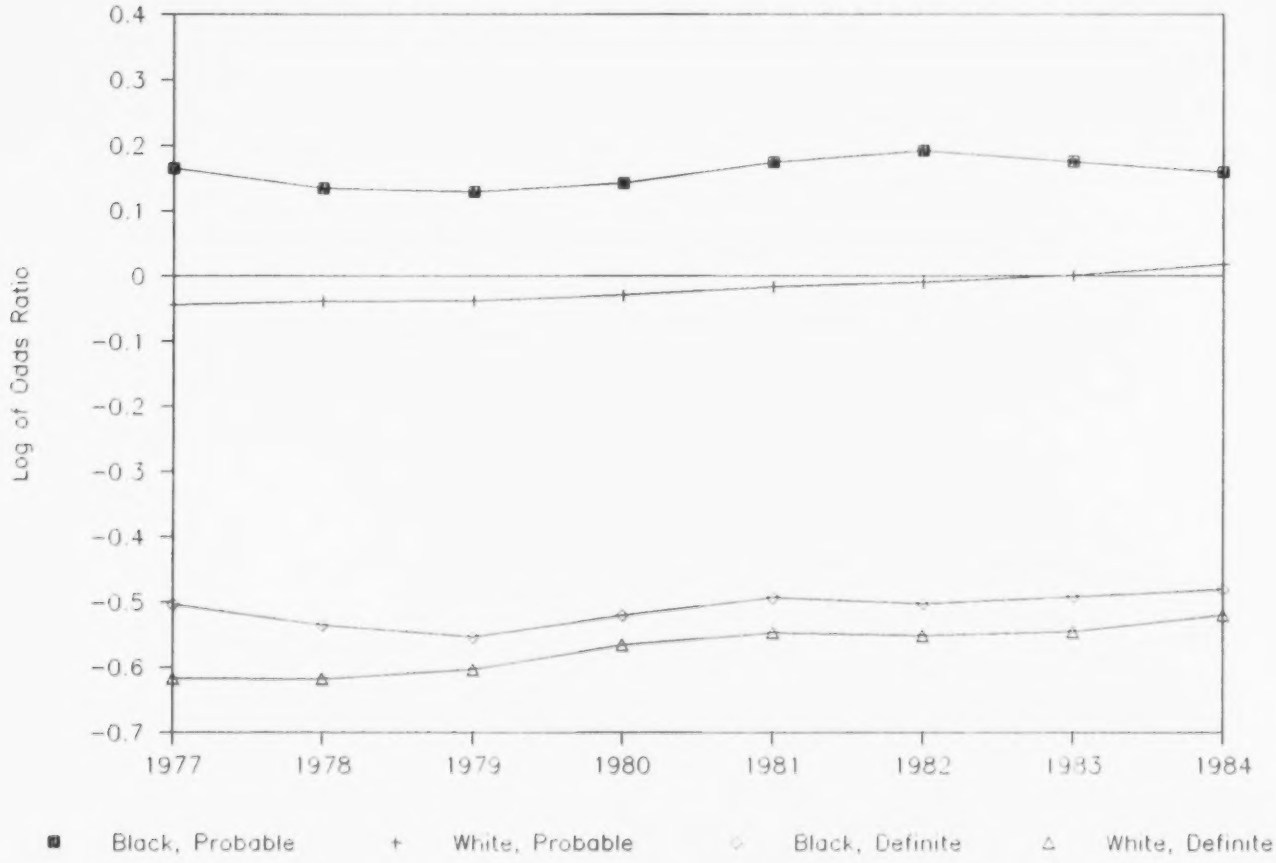


G4tRASP (MONITOR5) 7/16/87

Figure 15

Plans Relative to Aspirations to Attend a Technical or Vocational School

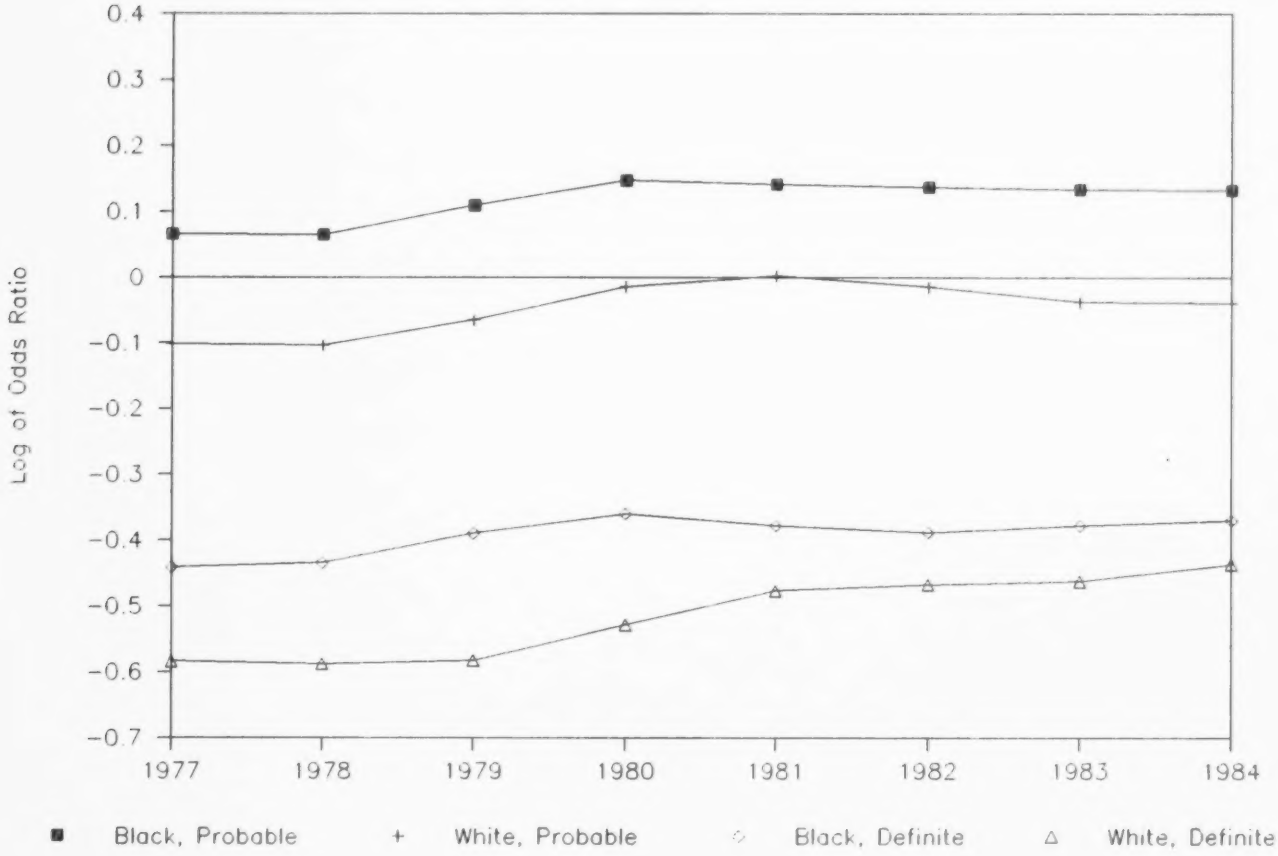
Black and White High School Seniors, 1977-84



VOCGAP3 (MONITOR5) 7/20/87

Figure 16

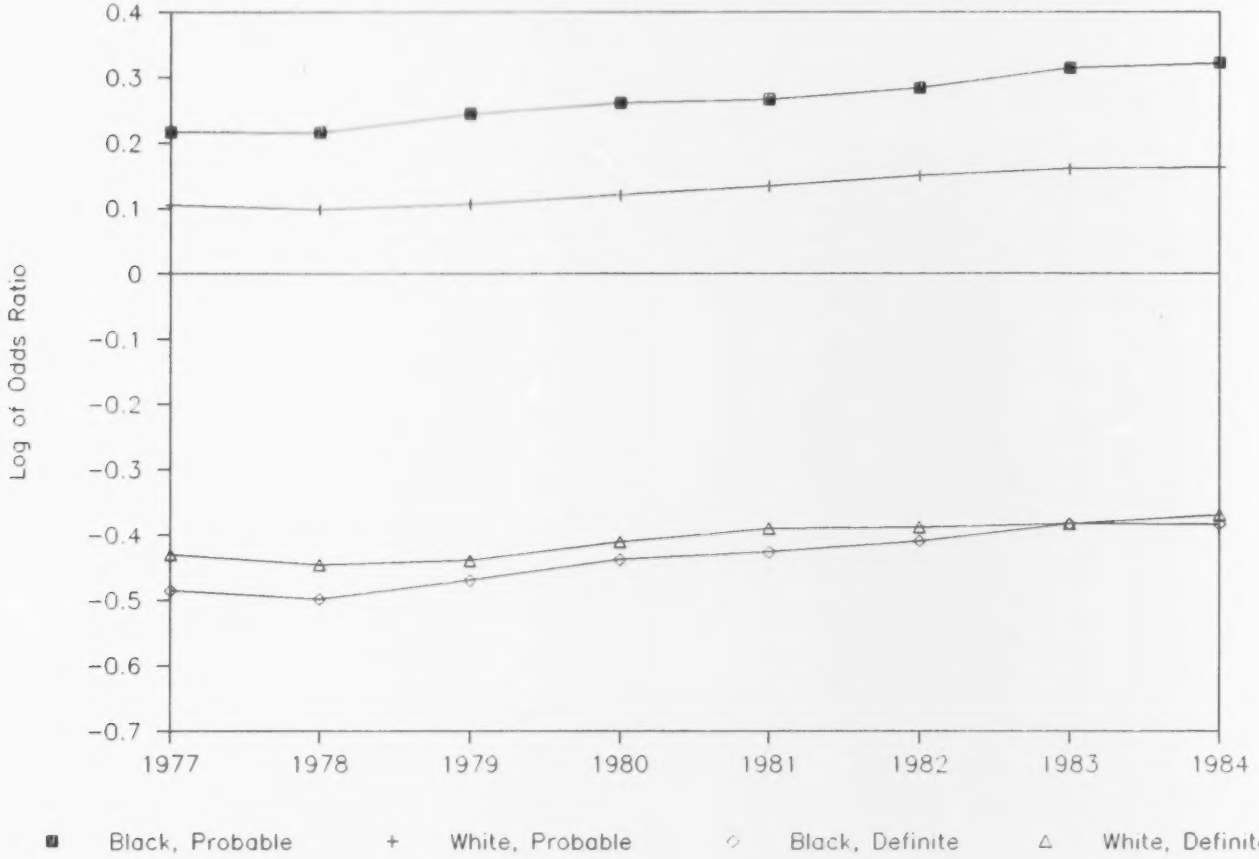
Plans Relative to Aspirations to Enter the Armed Forces
Black and White High School Seniors, 1977–84



ARMGAP3 (MONITORS) 7/20/87

Figure 17

Plans Relative to Aspirations to Complete a Two-Year College Program
Black and White High School Seniors, 1977-84

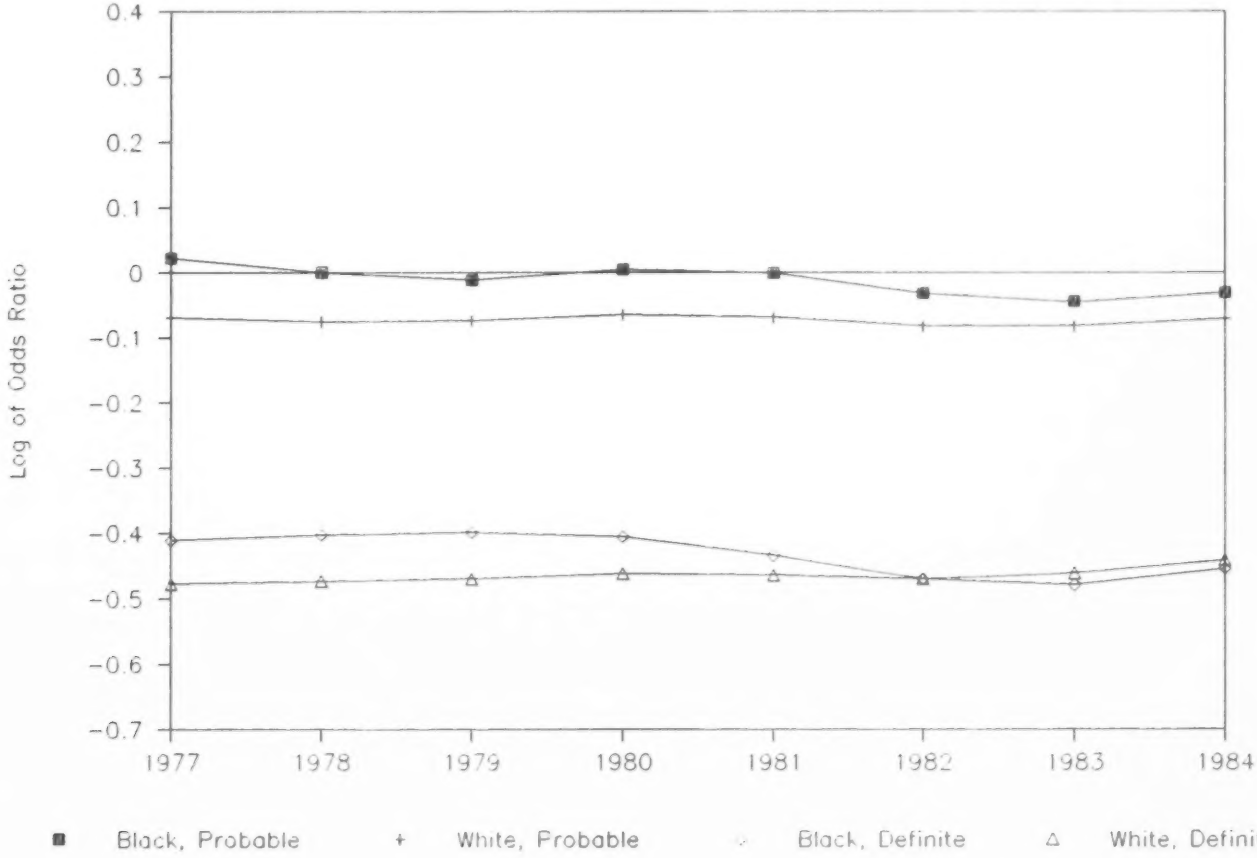


G2yRGAP3 (MONITOR5) 7/20/87

Figure 18

Plans Relative to Aspirations to Complete a Four-Year College Program

Black and White High School Seniors, 1977-84



G4YRGAP3 (MONITOR5) 7/20/87